Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur

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PATRIOTISM AND PROFITS

A CONVERSATION ABOUT BONDS

BY THE EDITOR

An evening in October, 1915, in Boston, Massachusetts. Library of Mr. William P. Worthington in a comfortable residence not far removed from Beacon Street. Mr. Worthington, like his father and grandfather before him, was engaged in trade with the West Indies until 1903, when he retired from business, the possessor of a moderate fortune. He is now in the early seventies, by tradition a Conservative and yet not unappreciative of changing tendencies. A supporter of the Honorable Samuel W. McCall for Governor, an admirer of Mr. Charles Sumner Bird and a warm personal friend of Mr. Erving Winslow. An American, patriotic to the core, and a staunch adherent of the Allies in the present war. He is sitting in his grandfather's re-covered armchair before a fire in the grate, in seemingly expectant mood, when a maid opens the door and admits Mr. Winthrop Worthington Pinckney, his nephew and prospective heir, recently graduated from Harvard and now "beginning at the bottom" in the employ of a well-known banking house, with view to a future partnership. After having greeted his welcome visitor with marked cordiality, Mr. Worthington opens the conversation, and thereafter the two speak alternately.

—And how did you find New York?

—Fine and dandy! Everybody up and doing and making money to beat the orchestra! I started back the minute the

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conference ended and reported to the Head as soon as I arrived, and got my chance at last. So here I am, your Winthrop on the spot, ready to do business. You are to be my first customer.

—Well, well!

—Yes, sir; here you are; first proposition out of the box; bonds for sale; best security in the world; terms exceptional; ground-floor prices; no commissions except for necessary expenses; everything open and above board; strictly commercial transaction; advantage of the whole country; stabilize rates of exchange; high prices for farmers; best interest for investors; patriotic spirit; service to all man——

—Tut, tut, my boy! One minute, please. I cannot follow you so rapidly. You must have been taking lessons.

—Oh, I have—straight from headquarters. Got it all at my finger-tips. Questions answered freely. Books open to all. Patrons promptly served. Come one, come everybody! Sounds good, doesn't it?

—It does, indeed. You seem to have learned your lesson well. I infer that you——

—Yes, sir, I have been given full charge of the sale of the allotment to the Firm of the Anglo-French Loan, the biggest issue of International Bonds ever made. And you are my first purchaser. How about that?—I suppose you have a little ready money seeking investment. Not unusual, eh?

—Oh, yes, I always try to keep a few thousands on hand for a possible emergency or for a desirable investment or even for a praiseworthy cause occasionally. Which would you say this is—an emergency, an investment or a contribution?

—Uncle, you are a great man. You have put it exactly; in the precise order, I mean, that we are to make the offerings. In the first place, it is an Emergency.

—Ah!

—Yes, sir; let me explain. You don't mind my practising on you a bit, do you?

—Not at all. In fact, I want to hear all about it.

—Well, as you know, this war has put the trading of the world completely out of joint. The equilibrium of commerce has been so upset that it is going to bring disaster upon our whole people unless we do something about it and do it promptly. It is simple as A-B-C. We have immense quantities of goods to sell that people want to buy but can't because

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they haven't the money. So the only thing to do is to give them credit just as a merchant or a bank does, and then after a while they pay us and we make a good profit. It isn't really a loan—especially a war loan—at all. It is just credit extended to customers.

—I see. Now what are the goods that our friends wish to buy with the money that you ask me, for example, to furnish?

—Foodstuffs, mostly,—wheat and corn and oats; in fact, all of the products of our soil.

—And guns and powder and shrapnel and the like?

—No; they have all the money they need for war munitions; they get that from their own people and may pay in gold if they like. In point of fact, the Commissioners were willing to restrict the proceeds of the loan exclusively to purchase of foodstuffs, but our Bankers turned down the proposition.

—Why?

—They regarded it as impracticable. It would make no difference anyway because, you see, if they used the money loaned——

—You mean the credit extended?

—Of course. If they used that for necessaries of life exclusively, they could offset the munitions with their exports to this country; so it is as broad as it is long.

—Yes, that seems reasonable. And yet, if the Commissioners were willing to make even an apparent concession to a certain sentiment of our people against using their own money to supply belligerents with ammunition, why should the Bankers have objected?

—As I said, they thought the plan impracticable.

—The Bankers probably have no great pecuniary interests in farm products?

—I imagine not.

—Nor in the supply of munitions of war?

—There was nothing said about it at the conference.

—Or, as your greatgrandfather used to say: "Aí blins aye; aí blins, no; aí blins, um, um, um." But I am diverting you from the logical presentation of your argument. You had not finished with the Emergency. You spoke of the rates of exchange.

—Yes, that really is the crux of the whole crisis. Ordinarily, exports and imports so nearly balance that the difference is settled by shipments of gold or by the temporary

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use of bank credit, but with monthly balances running above $100,000,000 this method is impracticable. Some other way must be devised or our foreign customers simply cannot buy our products. Of course, the difficulty could be overcome if the foreign holders of our securities, amounting in England to nearly two billions, would sell them in this market, but they do not seem disposed to do that.

—You mean that, as an investment, they prefer our railway stocks and bonds to the bonds of their own country?

—Well, yes.

—Do you consider their judgment good?

—It may be; but that is not the question. We simply have to find a market for our products or our Farmers will starve. Mr. Hill estimates——

—Mr. James J. Hill?

—Yes; he is of course our great authority. Mr. Hill estimates that we will have fully 375,000,000 bushels of wheat from our great crop this year to sell abroad, and "upon this," he says, "the prosperity of the American Farmer depends."

—And the prosperity, too, I suppose, of Mr. Hill's railways and grain elevators?

—Naturally; we all share in the common advantage.

—Do we? Our own people consume a good deal of flour, you know. In 1914, for example, out of a total product of 891,000,000 bushels of wheat, only 230,000,000, or 26 per cent, were exported. If now we should ship 375,000,000 bushels even from a larger crop, the amount left for home consumption would be materially reduced and the cost to the domestic consumer would, of course, be increased. In fact, it has been. The total money value of our exports of wheat and flour for the fiscal year 1915 was $482,400,000 against $142,400,000 for 1914. The consequence is that the downtrodden Farmer is receiving 30 cents a bushel more for his wheat, and I am paying $2 a barrel more for my flour. If I now loan money to facilitate still further increase in exportation, the disparity will surely be greater. In fact, I fully expect, regardless of loans or rates of exchange, during the forthcoming year, to see wheat at a dollar a bushel and flour at $10 a barrel. True, that is a selfish way of looking at it. I mention the matter only as bearing upon your remark about the "common advantage." By the way, how are the bonds going out West?

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—Not so very well, I am told.

—So I judged from Mr. James B. Forgan's statement and from Mr. William Allen White's remark that the banks and farmers of Kansas were not going to subscribe for any at all because they had better use for their money. Frankly, I am not greatly troubled by the plight of the American Farmer when he is getting ninety cents a bushel for his wheat and when, as in 1914, more than 85 per cent of all of our agricultural products are consumed in this country. Mr. Hill, I suspect, is more concerned by prices than by markets, and naturally he does not take into consideration consumers like myself and the wageworkers of this section who must bear 85 per cent of the enhanced burden. He only wants us to finance the operation.

—But, sir, you would not like to see our exports of foodstuffs cut off entirely?

—Certainly not. But neither am I particularly apprehensive on that score. When I see the people of England starving for food while their Government is paying us billions in gold and American securities for munitions of war I may believe that it is I, not somebody else, who is talking nonsense; but not till then.

—But that is not the point. Of course, the people of England would not submit to starvation. They would simply go elsewhere for their food.

—You mean to other countries which could and would make loans or, as you put it, extend credits?

—Certainly.

—Where would they go?

—Mr. Hill explains that. He has made a very careful study of the whole subject. The total wheat requirements of the Continent for the coming year he figures at 550,000,000 bushels. Of this amount Canada will supply 175,000,000 and India and Australia 50,000,000 more. This leaves 325,000,000 bushels to be found. Mr. Hill says Argentina can furnish 100,000,000.

—On credit?

—He doesn't say.

—I thought not. If so, you see, it would be with our money which we recently loaned to Argentina, and for which, it is quite definitely established, they have pressing need at home.

—But that is not all. Mr. Hill finds that " there will be

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available 250,000,000 bushels from the Black Sea region if the Dardanelles are opened to merchant ships before Spring."

—So! Well, of course, we all hope that the Dardanelles will soon be opened to merchant ships peaceably conveying grains from Russia to England, but the latest news from the Balkans hardly inspires confidence. There is some doubt, too, at the moment of Russia's position as a lender of money. Upon the whole, then, is it not fair to assume that England must come to the United States for foodstuffs if she would save her people from starvation?

—It would seem so, but if the present abnormal rates of exchange should maintain what would happen?

—England would have to pay more for a smaller amount of products and we here in New England would be required to pay less for a larger amount; that is all there is of it. Incidentally, you may have noticed in the financial reports that yesterday "demand sterling developed further weakness, closing at the bottom at $4.67⅜," wiping out a large part of the sentimental or artificial recovery that followed the arrival of the Commissioners, and that our Bankers were compelled reluctantly to admit that "the credit created by the $500,000,000 loan is not going to suffice to hold up exchange rates." The avowed primary purpose of the "credit extended," therefore, is already a failure; the half-billion has proved to be but a drop in the bucket; and whatever emergency there was originally still exists. In truth, there is none from the standpoint of any part of the American people except of the small groups which are thriving upon "war profits." If there is from England's, all her Government has to do is to offer exchange at a fixed rate; but that is their affair, not ours. I think we may pass the Emergency.

—But surely you consider these bonds a good investment, representing the only exterior obligation of two great nations, issued at 98, bearing 5 per cent interest and convertible into twenty or twenty-five year 4½ per cent bonds, which will sell at a premium, at the end of five years, when the war will be over.

—I am familiar with the terms; they are liberal enough; and the $10,000,000 deducted for marketing them is wholly reasonable, as such transactions go. But investment values are relative. As we have noted, the Kansas farmer thinks he can use his profits to better advantage and the English

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capitalist prefers his American securities, but they are differently situated from me, besides perhaps being in error. For myself, it seems from a strictly commercial and conservative standpoint a most attractive investment—assuming, of course, the correctness of your premise that the war will end favorably to the Allies, within a reasonable period of time. All depends upon that. Leaving France out of the calculation for the present purpose, since her recent short-term obligations are a drug on the market at nearly 7 per cent, a brief summary respecting Great Britain may prove enlightening, to wit:

Estimated wealth	$85,000,000,000
Debt prior to the war	3,600,000,000
Revenues about	1,000,000,000
Expenditures about	1,000,000,000

ESTIMATES OF THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.

Present "deadweight" debt, including costs of army and navy	$12,000,000,000
Expenditures for current year	7,950,000,000
Revenues for current year	1,525,000,000
Deficit for current year	6,425,000,000

Interest upon indebtedness prior to war	$120,000,000
Interest upon present indebtedness about	550,000,000

Present rate of war expenditures, $25,000,000 per day

The cost of the war has increased steadily in the past few months from $15,000,000 to $25,000,000 per day and seems likely to climb still higher at least for a time. Assuming that the heavy new taxes imposed upon incomes, war profits, etc., estimated at $535,000,000, or about $1,500,000 per day, will suffice to meet the anticipated increase in war costs, the financial condition of Great Britain at the end of another year of war will be approximately as follows:

Estimated wealth	$85,000,000,000 (?)
Indebtedness	21,000,000,000

True, the expenditures should diminish somewhat under efficient organization, but assuming continuation at the present rate, at the end of two years the indebtedness will have reached thirty billions and at the end of three years fully forty billions, or one-half of the entire national wealth,

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carrying an interest charge of not less than $2,000,000,000 per annum, as against $120,000,000 before the war. These are incredible sums, so incredible that the Chancellor of the Exchequer frankly declared "I do not think it is within the power of man to estimate what the cost of the war would be if it lasted 36 months longer" and concluded that necessarily its duration must be comparatively short. Needless to say, no country could bear such a burden. Whether, indeed, Great Britain, industrially broken and deprived, as she will be, of picked men whose economic value exceeds four billions, could meet the full billion of interest which she will have assumed at the end of only one year is worth considering.

—If not?

—Then she would be obliged to reduce the rates of interest upon her obligations.

—But Great Britain would never do that.

—Not willingly; but if her neighbors should take that course she might be compelled to do so, to maintain a competitive existence.

—In any case, no reduction could be made in the interest upon this loan because it is a first or prior lien upon national revenues.

—That is only an assumption, though probably correct. But it is not so nominated in the bond. Nor is there anything to prevent the issuance of further obligations taking precedence of this one. The remote possibilities of a complete triumph of Germany or repudiation of intolerable burdens through a revolt of the masses I ignore entirely.

—But what about Germany?

—Germany's war loans for the first year of the war amounted to $3,750,000,000; for the second year they are placed at $4,500,000,000; her total present indebtedness is about five billions; her estimated wealth is eighty billions. These figures, as you will see, compare favorably with England's and, looking to the future, Germany's reduction of wastage to a minimum gives her no small advantage. But it is quite idle to predict how long she can or will hold out. It is easy and probably safe to assume that the war will be over in five years, but there is no real basis for regarding even that hope as a certainty. Many wars have lasted longer and the magnitude of this one has no precedent.

—Then strictly as an investment——

—It is not an investment. It is a gamble comprising two

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bets—one that the Allies will win and the other that they will win comparatively soon. The *New York Times* puts it exactly when it says:

> This transaction is based on confidence that the borrowing Governments will in the course of the next five years be able to fund this short-term loan in longer-term bonds at par, which is equivalent to confidence that, if they are not victors in the war they are waging, they at least will meet with no crushing defeat. Every dollar of the loan is a concrete evidence of that confidence. Every investor who puts his money into the loan avows that belief and backs it.

—Then if you should subscribe you would do so as a patriotic duty?

—It seems to me that I did read something about the duty of every citizen to help the industries of his country and there was something further, I think, to the effect that the country was "responding patriotically."

—Yes, one of the leading Bankers spoke convincingly along that line.

—Quite so. I recall now that his statement reminded me of a certain remark made by Madame Roland respecting things done in the name of Liberty. Patriotism signifies service of one's country. How can I serve my country by sending my money out of it when every American dollar is needed within our own borders for railway expansion and improvements, for development of that scarcely touched empire in the Southwest, for the opening up of Alaska, for great water powers, for better roads, for deepening harbors, for national defense, for innumerable humanitarian purposes and so on indefinitely?

—But that is just the point. The entire proceeds of this loan are to remain here.

—To be sure. Now tell me just where the money I may hand to you in exchange for foreign promises to pay will go?

—Physically, of course, to the Bankers, but really to England and France as credit.

—But there is no need to extend this particular credit to England and France. They already have it. Everybody knows about the enormous "war orders" for all kinds of munitions which have been placed in this country. Some say they already amount to nearly two billions of dollars. In any case, the nominal values of "war shares" on the Stock Exchange have increased that much, large purchases have been made and manufacturing plants are not only being

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worked to the limit of their capacity but are being enlarged amazingly. Necessarily all this has required much money. Where has it come from? Partly direct from England in the form of gold, but chiefly from the New York banks in the form of credits. More than a month ago Dr. E. E. Pratt, Chief of the Bureau of Commerce, speaking in Denver, declared that, while the amount of such credits could not be given with accuracy, it was "likely that they exceed $250,000,000." The Chancellor of the Exchequer also, in submitting the loan to Parliament on October 12, announced that the transaction was "purely for the purpose of meeting liabilities already incurred" and confirmed Dr. Pratt's estimate of the amount now accrued as about £50,000,000. This is the minimum sum, already loaned to England by the Bankers, that the people are asked, for reasons of patriotism, to take off the Bankers' hands through the purchase of these bonds, simultaneously furnishing another quarter billion for continuance of the operation.

—But is not that a purely banking matter?

—On the contrary, it is about one part banking, two parts speculating and seven parts manufacturing. What is the cause of the tremendous increase in values of "war stocks"? "War orders," of course, that yield enormous profits, never estimated at less than 100 per cent. And who owns the "war stocks"? Not the original holders, except in part, you may be sure. Is it not more than probable that private bankers and officials of banks and trust companies have availed themselves freely of quite exceptional opportunities to invest in shares certain to increase enormously and immediately in both actual and market values? If not, one must assume a remarkable transformation of human nature. Believe me, my son, Wall Street has gone into manufacturing on a large scale—not altogether furtively, either. Note the new corporations being organized daily to engage in "war business," the big mergers being consummated or rumored, the eager competition between various groups until "working arrangements" can be made, and check off the incorporators and directors. Are they practical manufacturers? Not at all. One such is usually designated as the head for appearance's sake and his knowledge, but the others comprise the President of This bank, the Vice-President of That, the Chairman of This trust company, the Controller of That, and so on. These are the enterprising citizens whose vaults

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now hold the quarter billion or more of England's indebtedness, referred to by the Chancellor, which they are willing to share with, or to transfer *in toto* to, the whole people down even to the humblest, who has only $100 to pay for a single, little bond. The patriotic Bankers take the glory and the profits, the patriotic Boobs take the bonds and the chances, and everybody is satisfied.

—Everybody but——

—But me? Oh, I make no complaint. I need not join the Boobs unless it suits me to do so for reasons of my own. True, I am obliged to contribute indirectly through the banks and insurance companies unless I withdraw my deposits and cancel my policies,—but those are my privileges if I see fit to exercise them. No, I have no personal grievance. But, speaking of financial institutions, tell me, is it a fact that the Comptroller of the Currency has ruled that there is no limit to the amount of these bonds a National bank may purchase?

—Yes. The law restricts the amount that can be loaned to an individual or a corporation to 10 per cent. of its capital and surplus, but the Comptroller holds that the restriction does not apply in this case because a nation is neither an individual nor a corporation.

—Then, if they liked, the officers of the Shawmut National Bank could loan all their resources, capital, surplus and deposits to Uruguay or Hayti.

—Apparently.

—That seems very extraordinary. I always supposed a State was in a broad sense a corporation. Even if in the Comptroller's opinion it is not, I fail to see how he could hold such a transaction as falling within the intent of the statute, and clearly it is the duty of the Comptroller to consider the intent in an important matter like this. In any case, it is evident that a ruling involving such grave possibilities should be brought to the attention of Congress and, as I do not happen to know our Representative, I shall address a communication on the subject to the Speaker. The defect in the statute owing to a mere omission seems to be so obvious that I should suppose Congress would rectify the error promptly.

—Might not the passage of such an amendment at this time be regarded as at least morally unneutral?

—Oh, I suspect that we still have the privilege of revising our banking laws without inviting censure. But I am glad

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you asked the question. I like the term "morally unneutral." I wanted to ask you, Was anything said in New York about the neutrality of your loan?

—Yes, that is all settled. The Bankers agreed that it is neither pro-German nor pro-Ally; it is just plain pro-American.

—I can see that it is not pro-German and that it is not precisely anti-Ally, but about "just plain pro-American" I am not so sure. If I am right in reasoning that the whole scheme of the loan is to induce the great mass of the people to take a very considerable financial risk and increase the cost of their living to enable the Farmers to get fancy prices and the Bankers to pocket huge profits, "just plain pro-Kansas and just plain pro-Wall Street" would seem to be more exact.

—But the Government decided the question.

—The Government?

—Yes; the President and the Secretary of the Treasury.

—Oh, the Administration. You know there is still a Supreme Court and there will soon be a Congress. But what was the Administration's ruling? I remember one, but perhaps it is not the same.

—There was no formal ruling. Announcement was simply made that the Government regarded it as a purely business transaction between citizens of the United States and foreign nations, wholly within the rights of both, and so would raise no objections.

—Ah, that is not the same. The ruling I recalled was promulgated early in the war by the State Department. I have not the original declaration at hand, but it was outlined succinctly and, of course authoritatively, by the Secretary of State in the Democratic text-book for 1914 in these words:

> The announcement made by this Government that it regards the making of loans by American citizens to the Governments of nations engaged in war as inconsistent with the spirit of neutrality has created a profound impression throughout the world. It is the first time that a great nation has taken this stand on the subject of war loans. The matter has been discussed at The Hague and at peace conferences, but it encountered so much opposition that nothing tangible has resulted. THE PRESIDENT, THEREFORE, BLAZES A NEW WAY WHEN, WITHOUT CONFERENCE WITH OTHER NATIONS AND WITHOUT SUPPORT FROM CONVENTIONS, HE COMMITS THIS NATION TO THIS POLICY.

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It is inconsistent with the spirit of neutrality for a neutral nation to make loans to belligerent nations, for money is the worst of contrabands—it commands all other things. A very forcible illustration has been used in support of this proposition, namely that as a neutral government does all in its power to discourage its citizens from enlisting in the armies of other countries, it should discourage those who, by loaning money, would do more than they could do by enlisting. The Government withdraws the protection of citizenship from those who do enlist under other flags—why should it give protection to money when it enters into foreign military service? There is only one answer.

But there are other reasons. The European war is imposing a burden upon all the neutral nations as well as upon those engaged in the conflict. If the United States were to loan money to the belligerent nations, it would be less able to assist the neutrals, and it has already received notice from neutral nations that desire loans. We are under special obligation to render such service as we can to South and Central America; it would be difficult to do this if all of our surplus money was flowing into the war chests of Europe.

Then, too, our own country might be embarrassed by loans to the belligerents. Already a material reduction has been made in the Government's income from import duties owing to the partial suspension of commerce. If the war is prolonged it may become necessary for the Government to issue bonds, and foreign loans might so affect the local market as to compel a higher rate of interest.

There are still other reasons, but these are enough to show that the President's course was abundantly justified—enough to show, also, that in this case, as in nearly every other case, a stand taken upon moral grounds is supported by considerations of a material character.

That seems very clear. I did not feel at the time that the new way blazed by the President was wholly free from technical obstructions, but there is no question of the position assumed with respect to violations of the "spirit of neutrality," such as the President enjoined upon the whole country when he bade us to be neutral in our thoughts. Is there an explanation of this seeming reversal of judgment?

—Yes, sir. Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, Second Assistant President, cleared away the apparent inconsistency in the *Evening Post* on September 16, in this way:

Every branch of this Administration which might in any way be affected by the loan is clear in its mind that there is no inconsistency in this country's permitting the loan to be made when it discountenanced a year ago loans offered from the same sources. The difference, of course, is that this money is to be expended in the

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United States for the purpose of paying for goods legitimately purchased here, during the past year, both the goods of peace and those of war, and for purchases still to be made.

This undoubtedly is the official explanation. It was wholly satisfactory to the Bankers.

—That is gratifying, of course. But it is less convincing to my mind than I should like. Indeed, the so-called "difference" seems to bear a close resemblance to the traditionally bereft distinction. The Chancellor of the Exchequer also misapprehended the practical consequence, I should judge, or he would not have said to Parliament on October 11:

We said to our American creditors, allow us to defer payment, upon such terms as can be arranged. They agreed, and we were thereby enabled to retain £50,000,000 of capital which we must otherwise have exported.

—But surely you do not deny that we are within our legal rights in making this loan?

—Assuredly not. It was your own phrase "morally unneutral," conjoining the Secretary of State's "spirit of neutrality" and the President's "neutral in our thoughts," that caught my attention. There is no inhibition in either written or international law against our financing the entire war if we see fit to do so. But there are other considerations which must be taken into account unless we are prepared to substitute for our vaunted high-mindedness utterly flagrant self-deceit. I do not need to tell you how strong and sincere is my sympathy with the Allies. I hold that they are fighting the great battle of democracy, of freedom, of civilization and of humanity, no less for me and the ideals which I and my ancestors have cherished than for themselves and their own aspirations. I would gladly give half my fortune or more in case of need rather than witness their defeat. But I will not sail under false colors and I shall try, even throughout this period of terrible stress, to keep my mind as honest and fair as my heart is true to the great Cause which I hold to be just and noble. You say the making of this loan does not conflict with our professions of neutrality. I say that it does. You say it is exclusively pro-American. I say it is distinctly pro-Ally. Sometimes a simple comparison helps to clarify the vision. Not many years ago, you may recall, President Cleveland served a virtual ultimatum upon Great Britain respecting the boundaries of

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Venezuela. For weeks the two countries hung upon the precipice of conflict, which was only averted finally by the unexpected submission of a haughty Premier. Suppose war had come. England, then as now, was mistress of the seas and would promptly have shut us off from the remainder of the world as she has shut off Germany. Suppose, then, Germans had begun, not only to furnish England with so much cannon, shot and shell as they could manufacture, but to enlarge their plants enormously to produce for our enemy a limitless supply. Suppose, further, that the time had come when England could not conveniently pay for her huge purchases and the German people had loaned her great sums of money —a half-billion to start with—to enable their banker-manufacturers to make excessive profits. Suppose, too, the German Government, as a Government, while professing to be neutral, had not only tacitly acquiesced but had opened wide the vaults of the national banks under its control, to facilitate the operation. What, then, think you, would have been our feeling towards the German nation and the German people?

—Not friendly, of course; but even so we would have had no legal right to protest.

—No more than they have now, since, as you see, the cases are parallel.

—Moreover, Germany has no ground for complaint because she herself is trying to borrow money here.

—I am not interested in what Germany is trying to do or what England and France are trying to do; it is what we ourselves are doing that concerns me. True neutrality, in practice if not in theory, is a matter of degree. You may give or loan a person a reasonable sum of money without entangling yourself, but when you supply him with a hundred thousand dollars, say, to use in his business you become his partner, his ally. And that is what this half-billion loan makes of us—an ally of the Allies. Why stultify and discredit ourselves by pretending the contrary which we know to be false? The English have no illusions on this score. Listen to the *Spectator* of October 2:

> The peculiarity of the present loan resides solely in the political circumstances in which it is contracted. Two belligerent countries are borrowing from a neutral to finance their operations of war. There is no escape from that crude fact. But if international law permits a neutral country to make munitions for any belligerent,

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there is no obvious reason why it should not also permit the same neutral country to receive payment for those munitions by credit instead of by cash. Up to this point the whole proceeding is, *at any rate from our point of view*, entirely satisfactory.

There you have it in a nutshell. And the *Spectator* continues:

When, however, we look beyond the immediate necessity of financing our present imports from the United States and ask ourselves how about the future, the situation becomes less reassuring. Unless the war ends much more speedily than most of us dare to hope, the purchase of munitions of war from the United States must continue, and consequently a new loan will be necessary to pay for them.

That also is obvious. Half a billion, large as it seems, is a mere bagatelle; barely enough to pay England's war costs alone for twenty days and hardly one-fourth of the total amount of "war orders" already placed in this country. Negotiations for additional sums, I observe, are under way already. Our feet are in the water; presently we will be swimming because we must.

—But the more we do the more we will help the Allies.

—True—and that is the reason—the only reason—why I am going to subscribe. It is the only way I can help. I stand with Mr. Choate, who declared flatly at the Pilgrims' dinner to Lord Reading that his only regrets were that the loan sought was not many times larger and that the Commissioners had not appealed directly to the American people for needed help, not in stabilizing rates of exchange or marketing our products or any such fol-de-rol, but in their mighty struggle for human liberty and human rights.

—Then you are going to be my first customer, after all?

—Of course, gladly, gratefully. Have you a suggestion as to amount?

—Well, I hoped for $25,000.

—Oddly, that is the sum I had in mind as a fitting contribution from one of my means. So make my subscription $50,000.

—Why $50,000? Is not that more than you can afford?

—It is, but I can manage. And then, according to my reckoning, after all profits and commissions are deducted, my friends who are fighting my battles will receive from me munitions whose actual value is just about the $25,000 which I intended them to have.

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—Are you proud to make your contribution?

—That is an odd question. Why do you ask it?

—Because of a statement in the prospectus issued by one of the great Trust Companies of New York. This is it:

> When this war is over, the American investor who has purchased of this Loan may well be proud of having helped his country to become a creditor nation. In addition, he will have the satisfaction of having obtained a premier investment, possessing unusual security of principal and interest, at a price to yield nearly 5½ per cent.

What have you to say to that?

—Little, except that if I am still living when this war is over I shall not be proud of myself or my countrymen for having added to the terrific burden of debt which then will be placed upon the shoulders of the bereft peasants of poverty-stricken France, to be borne through God knows how many generations chiefly by the toiling wives and daughters and future descendants of the gallant and uncomplaining men who to-day are dying in the trenches by the thousands, to the end that we and our children may live in liberty and prosperity. It is excellent, of course, to obtain a "premier investment" and I accept my small portion, regardless of its intrinsic value, because it is the only course left open to me. It also may be a glorious thing to help my country to become a creditor nation; I do not know. But I am not proud as your Trust Company would have me to be. My soul sinks in sadness when I contemplate the gloating over our great gains from this awful tragedy and reflect that they are being won through the blood and tears of the very people whose ancestors gave unsparingly of life and treasure to make America, not First perhaps, but Free.

Go sell your bonds, my boy; but tell no lies!

BLOOD-MONEY

GERMANY disavows the *Arabic* infamy; which is gratifying. She will in addition pay an indemnity, if she and the United States can agree upon the cash value of the lives of the murdered men; which is doubtless also gratifying, from some point of view. It is customary to pay cash indemnities for human lives which are illegally destroyed, when the destroyers are governments or corporations and not individuals. We cannot recall an instance in recent times of

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such atonement being accepted as satisfactory from a private murderer. But it is taken, and exacted, from States. Germany herself exacted it a few years ago, from China, for the killing of some missionaries, though that crime was not committed with any such degree of official incitement and sanction as the German murders of American citizens enjoyed, and the act of atonement was accompanied with conditions and circumstances which do not appear to be required in the present case. Morally, and to the thoughtful observer, the disavowal is of far more value than the blood-money—provided it is sincere and is not made merely because the wholesale destruction of the German submarine flotilla has made it impracticable to continue such conduct.

The *Lusitania* case comes next, and it is intimated that while an indemnity may be paid there will be no thought of disavowal. This seems plausible, for the German Government has so persistently and unqualifiedly maintained the rightfulness of its butchery of the victims of that outrage that it would be extraordinarily difficult and embarrassing for it now to reverse that attitude and to confess the destruction of the ship to have been unjustifiable. The expectation is, then, that there will be no disavowal and only the somewhat grudging payment of blood-money.

Let us consider what that would mean, and where it would leave us. It does not so greatly matter where it would leave Germany. If we accepted the cash indemnity as a satisfactory settlement, we should be acquiescing in Germany's pretension of a right to murder American citizens, including women and children, at will, subject only to an obligation to pay so much a head for doing so. For murder it was, as surely as any private killing that ever was expiated upon the gallows, and it is inconceivable that right-thinking Americans can ever otherwise regard it. We should be making ourselves accessories after the fact to the establishment of the monstrous principle that in war a belligerent is free to massacre on the high seas innocent and unoffending non-combatant neutrals, without a single provocative circumstance save their unwillingness to renounce their natural and lawful rights and subject themselves to insolent dictation from an alien Power. After all the wrath which flamed out righteously at the thought of our women and children piratically slain and their tortured bodies left to be wastrels of the deep, we should be saying, " Oh, well, let it go, so long

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as you pay us the ready cash!" How much for a baby's life? How much for a wife, a sister, a mother?

We cannot believe that such a disposition of the case could ever be acceptable to the American nation. We do not say that there should necessarily be war over the matter of the *Lusitania*, though wars have been waged over far less provocation. No war could bring back our dead to life. But we should have to think poorly of the resources of diplomacy if it were impossible in some effective manner to exact from the murderers something more than blood-money. We must believe that in some way it could be made possible to constrain Germany to disavow so hideous a crime and to recede from her atrocious claim of a right to commit murder.

But if not, if the German Government should persist in abrogating the Sixth Commandment and international law, then there must be some way short of war in which to make clear to the world and to posterity our unchangeable denial and detestation of that murderous attitude, and our unwillingness to accept blood-money as a full equivalent of human lives.

THE COST AND CURE OF A PLAGUE

It may be problematic whether we shall ever adopt anti-typhoid inoculation as generally as we have anti-small pox vaccination, though we have already done so in the Army, with noteworthy results. It is certain that we must find and employ some effective means of suppressing a plague which is disgracefully prevalent in this country, and which is enormously costly to us. If we can do so without inoculation, well and good. If not, it will be difficult to demonstrate that it is better to let the disease rage than to employ a practically infallible means for getting rid of it.

The full extent of the prevalence of typhoid, and its cost to the nation, cannot be accurately stated, because in this country we do not maintain such a system of vital statistics as some other countries do. Nevertheless, we have authentic statistics from a considerable part of the country, and from them we can calculate the rest with approximate accuracy.

It is known that in 57 cities, which then had a population of nearly 21,000,000, there were in 1910 no fewer than 4,114 deaths from typhoid, and that in the same cities, then

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with a population of more than 23,000,000, there were in 1914 only 2,408 deaths from the same disease. Those figures show a splendid gain in five years, but they also show a still far too great prevalence of typhoid. If a human life be reckoned to be worth, economically, $5,000, as it commonly is, then the loss in those cities in 1910 from this disease was $20,570,000. In five years there was a gratifying saving of $8,530,000, but the loss in 1914 was still $12,040,000. Now these 57 cities comprise less than one-fourth of the population of the United States, and the remaining population is notoriously much more subject to the disease than they. It is safe to estimate at the present time, according to the Federal Health bureau, a total of 30,000 deaths and a yearly economic loss to the nation through the destruction of life by typhoid of fully $150,000,000. That is surely a sum worth saving, if we can; and it is to be believed that we can, since typhoid, while not always curable, is preventable.

The decrease in the number of cases indicated by the figures which we have quoted has been effected chiefly by safeguarding the water and milk supplies from contamination. The improvement in all the cities taken together has been marked. Still more marked, significant and instructive are some individual cases. Thus the number of deaths in each 100,000 of population in New York prior to 1910 was 13.5; now it is 6.2. In Chicago it has fallen from 15.8 to 7.1; and in Philadelphia from the appalling number of 41.7 to 7.4. Similar gains for life and health have been made in other cities, large and small.

On the other hand there are striking contrasts between cities. Thus Boston has a death rate per 100,000 of 9.1, while Baltimore, a city of comparable size, has 22.4. Why should Baltimore have more than twice as many typhoid deaths as Boston? Worcester, Mass., has only 3.7, while Birmingham, Alabama, has 40.2. Why that amazing contrast? Cambridge, Mass., has only 1.8, while Springfield, in the same State, has 21.8. Seattle has reduced her typhoid deaths to 4.6 in the 100,000, while San Francisco suffers 12.9. Climate or other conditions beyond human control cannot be charged with responsibility for these differences. We must charge them against the administration of sanitary laws and Governmental attention to the popular welfare.

The number of deaths yearly from typhoid in the whole nation is expertly estimated at 30,000. But what would it

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be if it were proportionally no larger than in some of the States, and in some in which the conditions conducing to typhoid are supposed to be worst? Typhoid is commonly regarded as a disease of crowded populations, where the vast floods of sewage are difficult to dispose of and there is the greatest danger of water supplies becoming contaminated. Well, the rates to the 100,000 in three of the most crowded States are as follows: Massachusetts, 7.9; Rhode Island, 8.3; New Jersey, 9.6. If the whole country could reduce its typhoid toll as Massachusetts has done, it would lose only 7,900 instead of 30,000 lives, or $39,500,000 instead of $150,000,000. Surely a gain of $110,500,000 a year would be worth making, even if it cost a few millions to effect it. Nor would it be unreasonable to expect the whole nation to do about as well as the States cited; for other industrial and crowded States should surely do as well as these, while the chiefly rural State of Wisconsin boasts a rate of only 9 in the 100,000. The actual gain made in a single specimen State is much in point. In 1900 New Jersey had a typhoid rate of 22 in the 100,000, and now it has only 9.6. That means that 2,060 lives have been saved which would have been lost if the rate of 1900 still prevailed. The State Board of Health points out that, at the rate of $5,000 for each life and $300 as the average cost of medical care and funeral, the money saved by the reduction of deaths has in these years been nearly $11,000,000.

These gains by cities and States, and these contrasts between cities and States are due, as we have said, chiefly to improved sanitation in the water and milk supplies, and in a few cases also to the extermination of house flies; and there is no doubt that the processes which have been so efficient in some places would prove equally successful in all places. Nashville, with a death rate of 47.3, could emulate Cambridge with only 1.8. But since in all States and cities a certain percentage persists, it may be well to consider, as a final resort, some additional means of combatting the plague, in hope of driving it to the vanishing point and making it as rare as smallpox. By far the most hopeful means appears to be suggested by the experience of the United States Army, the large camps of which have been notoriously susceptible to attacks of typhoid; for obvious reasons. It is a matter of record that during four months in 1898 among 10,000 soldiers encamped in Florida there were 2,000 cases

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of typhoid: a most discreditable and disastrous record, but one which at the time was regarded as not at all extraordinary and as probably inevitable. It is also a matter of record that thirteen years later, in a similar encampment of just double the size of Texas, there were only two cases. We may well ask the cause of so striking a change, from 2,000 in 10,000 to only one in the same number.

The significant fact is that during those years the system of inoculation for the prevention of typhoid had been invented and had been made compulsory in the Army. In 1898 none of the men were inoculated, and in 1911 all were inoculated. Nor are these results perceptible only in the occasional large encampments. They are to be seen throughout the entire Army. Before the discovery and introduction of the inoculation the case rate in the Army was 536 in the 100,000. It is now only three. That is to say, that among men of just the age when they are most susceptible to typhoid, living in conditions peculiarly favorable to its development and propagation, the number of cases is far less than the number of deaths in the most sanitary and salubrious of our large cities. While New York has 6.2 deaths, the Army has only three cases. The significance of such facts cannot be ignored.

To what extent the obvious lesson will be or should be practically applied is an interesting question. It is observed that the civil employees of the Government have voluntarily very generally been inoculated. Last year more than 100,000 persons throughout the country, not in the Government service, voluntarily sought this protection against typhoid. This year the work is being more widely conducted, and it is estimated that fully 300,000 will be treated.

It is understood that anti-typhoid inoculation is a much simpler and less formidable operation than vaccination against smallpox, and is subject to none of the objections which have been raised against the latter. In the vast majority of cases there are no symptoms whatever. How long the immunity lasts is still an open question. At any rate, the achievements already effected should confirm a resolution to persist in the campaign until this deadly but quite preventable disease is eliminated, as yellow fever, smallpox and other maladies have been. It would be a reproach to the nation to continue losing thousands of lives every year, when an assured remedy is within reach.

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THE DECLINE AND FALL OF CULTURE

THERE is a cry abroad in the land that our culture—our hard-won American culture—is perishing. It is a feminine voice that has cried out—effectively megaphoned through the most distinguished of our monthly contemporaries: the voice of an estimable writer of fiction whose own presumptive culture need not too gravely be impeached by reason of the fact that she speaks of the Germans' possession of *Kultur* apparently under the quaint delusion that it is equivalent to the English noun which she uses in her sufficiently panic-striking title—"The Extirpation of Culture." Culture, we are told, has ceased to be a passionate American preoccupation; it seems that we are doing all in our power to lose both the word and the thing—there are to-day proportionately fewer Americans who care about culture, and who know the real thing when they see it, than there were one or two generations ago.

This is indeed news—this, as Mr. Abe Potash (or was it Mr. Mawruss Perlmutter?) used to observe, is "altogether something." We confess that we had not taken note of the fact, with the Ladies' Culture Clubs open day and night, and the names of the latest Russian novelists and the doings of the Futurists as common in afternoon tea talk (they say) as that sweet word, "Hell," in a Billysunday discourse. It appears that "the pure American" (that very occasional bird) once cared for culture, and no longer, to the same extent, does. The reasons? They are multiple, and have been carefully listed—a card-index of national deterioration. First there is "the increased hold of the democratic fallacy on the popular mind." We then perceive our female Jeremiah,—holding her skirts exquisitely above our contaminated earth and sniffing delicately in the direction of Ellis Island,—addressing our attention to the second card: the influx of "a racially and socially inferior population." Next, we find her, like the party platforms of an earlier tradition, "viewing with alarm" the two remaining causes of our intellectual and spiritual decline: "Materialism in all classes," and "the idolatry of science."

Of the fact itself—the fact that culture actually *is* being "extirpated" (a verb which would seem, to the unsuspecting, to relegate culture among rag-weed, tumors, heresies, and prostitution)—of this fact, our lady prosecutor

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finds the evidence "so multitudinously at hand" that she considers it hardly worth while to bring forward "solemn proofs of the fact"—a method of indictment and trial which seems to be modelled somewhat loosely upon the immortal principle enunciated by the Queen at the trial of the Knave of Hearts in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland:* "Sentence first, verdict afterward." Our Brahminical apostle of culture merely begins a little farther back, having adopted as *her* principle, "Verdict first, evidence afterward." Well, it is not a bad principle, provided the evidence does ultimately emerge. Anyway, it saves time. And are not our author's proofs impressive? For example, there is the existence of "a cult of the modern" in all branches of art and learning —a sinister phenomenon. Those hard-working entertainers, Mr. Winston Churchill, Mr. Richard Harding Davis, Miss Eleanor Hallowell Abbott, are sign-posts on this pathway to intellectual perdition, blameless though they be themselves. But are there not some among us who prefer Conrad to Mr. Davis, Galsworthy to Mr. Churchill, Dostoïevsky to Miss Abbott? Apparently not. Of the public that reads and discusses Conrad and Dostoïevsky, our ululant prophet of intellectual disaster seems oddly unaware.

As for the delusion some of us have entertained that good music, good drama, are to-day in eager demand, that is effectively disposed of by our author: her method is one of inspired simplicity—she merely, like Dr. Johnson concerning a future life, "leaves the matter in obscurity." Those tales we have heard about the difficulty of obtaining seats for the annual performance of Wagner's *Ring* at the Metropolitan; about the symphony orchestras that are springing up in our Western and Middle-Western cities; about the demand at the circulating libraries for the newest books on the drama (a demand that issues to a great extent from the despised members of that "racially and socially inferior population")—legends, myths, all of them. Our young women do not, as one absurdly fancied, play on their pianos Grieg and MacDowell and Debussy. But at all events they do not play *The Maiden's Prayer* and *The Battle of Prague,* as did their grandmothers in those halcyon days, never to come again (unless democracy and immigration and materialism and science can be "extirpated"), when culture was securely in our midst and sweetness and light prevailed.

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IF GERMANY——?

BY MUNROE SMITH

"Let us take the law of our sides; let them begin."—*Romeo and Juliet,* act 1, scene 1.

After Prince Bismarck ceased to direct German politics from the Imperial Chancellery, he continued his efforts to mould public opinion through the press. With the *Hamburger Nachrichten* he established relations which would be described to-day as those of a "contributing editor." In a leading article in that journal, on January 9, 1893, he made a statement which is of marked interest at the present time. Like numerous utterances in his speeches and certain passages in his *Reflections and Reminiscences,* this statement seems to have been made for the purpose of counteracting the notion, which since 1875 had been a fixed idea in German military circles, that Germany would not be safe until France was completely crushed.

In view of our fortifications in Strassburg, Metz, Mayence and Coblenz, Field-Marshal Moltke was so convinced of the strength of our military position on the western frontier that he regarded it as possible, in case war should break out on two fronts, that we should limit ourselves to the defensive on the western frontier until the Russian war was conducted to an end. He was of the opinion that, with our railroad communications and fortifications on the western frontier, the French could not so conduct the war as to break through our lines; and he accordingly believed that we could carry the Russian war to a conclusion and then first, as against France, pass over from the defensive to the attack.

As it was generally known that the *Hamburger Nachrichten* was Bismarck's organ, this revelation elicited much comment. On January 16 Bismarck repeated his statement and at the same time indicated his own opinion:

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> We should regard it as presumptuous to attempt to support the views of the great strategist with our own opinion; but in face of the skeptical articles published . . . we should like to add that, so long as we are in possession of Metz and Strassburg, and so long as we remain covered by the neutral Belgian and Luxemburg territory, a defensive conduct by Germany of the war against France would not deprive the left bank of the Rhine, but only a part of Alsace, of protection by German troops.

In 1914 the German General Staff, with another Moltke at its head, put into execution an opposite plan. It was stated to be self-evident that France must be crushed before "the slow-moving Russian masses" could make any effective attack upon the central empires. To achieve this object, the cover of Belgian neutrality was sacrificed. The attack on France was launched across that neutral territory, as offering the line of least resistance.

The military results attained under this plan were less satisfactory to Austria than to Germany. At the close of the first period of the war, the Austrian forces had been driven out of Serbia, while the Russians were in possession of the greater part of Galicia. Germany, on the other hand, had repelled the Russian invasion of East Prussia and was in control of Western Poland, of Belgium, and of an important part of northeastern France. Its main purpose, however, was not attained: France was not crushed. During the second phase of the war, in 1915, Germany reverted to the plan of campaign suggested by the elder Moltke. It held itself on the defensive in the West and endeavored to "carry the Russian war to a conclusion."

In view of these facts, it seems probable that the relative military advantages of the two plans will form the subject of much controversy in the future. The purpose of the present article, however, is not primarily to discuss this military question, but to compare the diplomatic action which the military plans of the central empires demanded with the course which their diplomacy might with advantage have followed if the plan suggested by the elder Moltke and approved by Bismarck had been adopted.

The apparently purely military decision that Serbia and France must be crushed before Russia could "bring up masses of troops from all parts of her wide dominions," and also, if possible, before the French forces were properly concentrated and fully equipped, made the time-factor of su-

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preme importance. It was to save time that the Central Empires curtailed negotiation, evaded mediation, and declared war on Serbia, Russia, France and Belgium. Whatever view be held concerning the expediency of their military action, their diplomatic action can hardly be deemed sound or even defensible. It was diametrically opposed, as I have elsewhere tried to show,* to Bismarck's theory and practice. Bismarck did not hesitate to accept or even to force a war when he believed war necessary for the attainment of his political aims, but the visible burden of aggression always rested on the shoulders of his adversaries. In his notable speech of February 6, 1888, in which he developed most clearly the moral and political advantages of the defensive position, he assumed, for the sake of his argument, the very contingency which, in the German official theory, arose in 1914, namely, a threatened attack upon Germany by Russia and France; and he insisted that such a peril should not be met by anticipating it. "If in the end we proceed to attack," he said, "the whole weight of the imponderables, which weigh much heavier than material weights, will be on the side of our adversaries whom we have attacked." Never has a warning been more fully justified in experience. Against those who appear to be responsible for the outbreak of war, neutral as well as hostile nations always feel resentment. At the present time this resentment is stronger and more general than at any former period of history, partly because the present war is the greatest the world has known, and partly because the relations between all parts of the world are closer and the disturbances caused by war are greater and more far-reaching than ever before. To-day, as Dr. Dernburg informed his countrymen in an address delivered in Berlin in September, 1915, "Germany has few friends in the world."

It is clear that the weight of the imponderables not only impeded the execution of Austro-German military plans but greatly increased the complexity of their military problem. In the countries attacked, in Russia and in France, no less than in Serbia and in Belgium, all internal dissensions were at once forgotten, all pacific sentiment instantly disappeared; for nothing so thoroughly solidifies national feeling, nothing gives a people so rapidly the fighting edge, as de-

* "Military Strategy versus Diplomacy in Bismarck's Time and Afterwards," *Political Science Quarterly*, March, 1915.

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fensive war. In other countries as well, in countries not attacked, the weight of the imponderables made itself felt. The aggressive course pursued by the Central Empires made it easy for Italy, their ally since 1879, first to withhold its support, pledged only against attack; then to denounce its treaty of alliance with powers that were pursuing, without its consent, aims foreign to its interests; and eventually to align itself with their enemies. Italy's final decision, the Germans tell us, was "a victory of the street," that is, of popular feeling. Italian feeling, as everyone knows, was persistently anti-Austrian; but there seems to have been little anti-German feeling, and there was clearly much good will toward Germany, until the German armies marched through Belgium into France. As to England, it is fully established that it was the imponderables that tipped the scales for immediate war. There was undoubtedly in England a degree of sympathy with France, and there was a very general distrust of the German Government; but it is clear that English public feeling was not sensibly stirred until Germany declared war on Russia and threatened France with attack, nor was English national sentiment solidified for war until Germany invaded Belgium.

The prevailing attitude of the American people also was determined by what seemed to them the aggressive action of the Central Empires and particularly by the unprovoked German attack upon Belgium. Even among Americans of German ancestry these imponderables have had weight. Support of the German cause is noticeably weaker among those born in the United States than among those born in Germany: not a few German-American households are divided in their sympathies. In their case, as in that of all Americans, the longer the line of descent, the weaker the ties that bind the living to the home of the dead.

A very material weight in the present war is attributed by Germans and Austrians to the American exportation of military supplies. Opposition to such traffic has no basis in international law, and it is difficult to see that it has any basis in world morals. To prohibit this trade would place the non-industrial states at the mercy of those with highly developed industries. Even if the non-industrial states each maintained a store of arms and ammunition apparently sufficient for years of warfare—an arrangement not in itself desirable—novel instruments of attack might still find them

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unprepared; and if neutral trade in such instruments were automatically terminated by the attack of better prepared adversaries, they would be helpless. In the present war there is an unforeseen need of high explosives, to say nothing of poisonous gases. Who can tell what supplies will be needed for the next war?

Repugnance to trade in military supplies has, however, a basis in human sentiment. The demand for an embargo upon such supplies, as a means of inducing England to relax its restraint upon neutral commerce, was supported by important commercial interests and by expert opinion that England's action was not warranted by international law. It was of course supported by all who sympathized with the Central Empires or were animated by distrust of England. If the purely humanitarian reaction had been more general, it might conceivably have exercised a decisive influence. As it is, thousands of Americans, who, under other circumstances, would be strongly opposed to the enrichment of their fellow-citizens by the sale of wares designed to destroy human life, are at present dominated by the feeling that we are helping our fellow men in the exercise of the most incontestable of rights, that of self-defense.

For its disregard of what the younger Moltke termed "the commonplaces as to the responsibility of the aggressor" Germany seems likely to suffer long after this war is ended. Victorious or defeated, it will have lost, for the time at least, the commercial position which it had conquered, in peaceful rivalry, in every part of the world. This position Germans had earned by thorough training and by unwearying industry. In the attempt to regain it, they will of course display the same admirable qualities, but they will find their task more difficult. Given a fair start, the average German will probably make good again; but for years to come the general belief that Germany was responsible for this war will make it harder for him to get his start. Evidence on this point is given by the German author of *J'accuse,* who, as he tells us, travelled and conversed in Germany with Germans returning from South American countries in August, 1914. They testified to "the antipathy felt toward them by the population" of those countries. "They were all agreed that the thought of rebuilding their existence in South America could not be entertained, and that the years and decades laboriously spent by them were merely thrown away."

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That the diplomatic action of the Central Empires in the critical days from July 23 to August 4, 1914, was not fortunate is widely recognized in Germany; but the chief reason for its ill success does not seem to be generally understood. It is not generally appreciated that diplomacy may need for its purposes precisely the time which military strategy is unwilling to yield. "An indispensable requisite of the statesman," Bismarck said to Hofmann, "is patience. He must be able to wait until the right moment has come, and must not act in too much of a hurry, however strong the temptation."

If Germany had adopted the plan of military action which the elder Moltke regarded as feasible, it would apparently have been possible for Austria and Germany to conduct their diplomatic campaign on Bismarckian lines. Assuming that pan-Serbian intrigues in fact menaced the integrity of the Dual Monarchy, Vienna was obviously right in regarding the crime of Serajevo as offering a favorable occasion for energetic action. The ultimatum sent to the Serbian Government was in the main defensible as to its content. Its form, however, might well have been less provocative; and the Russian request that Serbia should not be required to answer within forty-eight hours might well have been granted. If the time-factor had not been essential, a moderate extension of the term would have cost Austria nothing and would have exhibited regard for Russian susceptibilities and a spirit of conciliation. If Vienna had been less peremptory, it is probable that Belgrade would have been less compliant; for the less clearly Vienna showed its purpose to force a war, the less safely could Belgrade, for the sake of making war appear unjustifiable, offer sweeping concessions. Of promises that might be accepted it could less easily afford to be lavish. If Belgrade had been less compliant, Vienna could more plausibly have found that all its assurances were unsatisfactory. From the outset Austria had formal ground for war in Serbian disregard of treaty engagements; and it was a mistake to discredit its own cause by overhasty and high-handed action. And Vienna should not have shown any such reluctance as it displayed from July 23 to July 29 to discuss its future relations to Serbia. From the outset it should not only have promised (as it did) to respect the integrity and independence of the Serbian kingdom, it should also have been ready

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to discuss the question how the Dual Monarchy could obtain security for Serbia's good behavior without impairment of Serbia's independence. It should have been eager to converse upon this theme, not only with St. Petersburg but with any European capital, at any time and to any extent desired. It is hardly possible to imagine a question more perfectly adapted to what Bismarck once described as "dilatory negotiations." In the meantime the Austrian campaign against Serbia could have been pushed vigorously, without let or hindrance, until the Russian Government lost patience and mobilized. The mobilization of Russia's southern forces should then have been met (as it was met) by complete Austrian mobilization.

Complete Russian mobilization need not and should not have interrupted negotiations. The Austrian Foreign Minister in fact declared, on July 31, that he was ready to continue to negotiate, "despite the change in the situation which has resulted from Russia's mobilization." Much less should Russian mobilization have been met by a German declaration of war. It should have been met, if the game were to be played on Bismarckian lines, by a concentration of German troops on the eastern frontier and, if it was deemed necessary, by complete German mobilization. Then the German Government could and should have waited for overt aggression or a declaration of war by Russia against Austria, as under similar circumstances Bismarck waited in 1866 for aggression on the part of Austria. "Russia," as the German Foreign Secretary informed the British Ambassador in Berlin, "had said that her mobilization did not necessarily imply war, and that she could perfectly well remain mobilized for months without making war. This," the Secretary added, "was not the case with Germany." The reason why this was not the case with Germany he found in the time-factor, *i. e.*, in the plan of campaign.

It may well be doubted whether Russia would have remained mobilized for months, or even for weeks, without making war; for during these weeks or months Austria would have had free hand, not only in Serbia but in the whole Balkan peninsula. Under the pressure of such a situation, Russia must soon have decided either to accept such assurances as Austria chose to give or to declare war. Which course would it have chosen? In the opinion of the German Chancellor, expressed in his speech of December 2,

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1914, Russia would not have mobilized without assurance of French support. If that be true, it certainly would not have attacked Austria without such assurance.

Toward France Germany could and should have assumed a similar waiting attitude. Assurance could have been given that Germany would not attack Russia unless Russia attacked Austria. There need have been no concentration of German troops on the western frontier, unless France proceeded to mobilize. There, as on the eastern front, it would have been possible to follow the Bismarckian policy of keeping always one move behind the prospective enemy in visible military preparations.

What course would the French Government have followed in such a situation? A distinguished French publicist, to whom I put this question last Spring, frankly stated that one could not say, one could only guess. The text of the Franco-Russian treaty of alliance has not been published; it is, however, probable, and it is generally assumed by European publicists, that this alliance is in its terms defensive. If Russia had attacked Austria, France could doubtless have said that Austria had brought this attack upon itself by attacking Serbia and that Russia's action was in reality defensive. At the outset, however, the French Government exhibited sympathy with the Austrian grievances against Serbia. On July 24 the French Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs assured the Austrian Ambassador in Paris that "recent events and the attitude of the Serbian Government made energetic action on Austria's side quite comprehensible." In his report of this conversation the Ambassador added: "The Minister avoided any attempt to palliate or defend in any way the attitude of Serbia." Had Russia attacked Austria while the latter was freely discussing its future relations to Serbia, it would have been open to the French Government to say that Russia was the aggressor, that France had no vital interests in the Balkans, and that it was not bound to support Russia in aggressive action for the protection of purely Russian interests.

In the situation supposed, the attitude of France, like that of Italy and of England, would doubtless have been determined partly by its interests and partly by public sentiment. There would have been a natural reluctance to leave an ally in the lurch, and this sentiment would have had material support among French holders of Russian securities.

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There would have been a feeling that this was perhaps France's last chance to recover its lost provinces. Considering, however, the strength of anti-militarist (as well as anti-capitalist) feeling in France in 1914, and the degree to which regret for Alsace-Lorraine was ceasing to be a motive for action and becoming a sentimental tradition, it seems safe to say that if France had joined Russia in attacking the Central Empires, the French people would not have entered upon the war with anything approaching the unity of feeling with which they sprang to the defense of their country against the German attack.

The German Chancellor has told us that France would not have supported Russia without assurance of British support. What then, under the conditions supposed, would have been the British attitude?

The British Government, like the French, expressed sympathy with Austrian grievances, and the British diplomatists stated, distinctly and repeatedly, that England had no interest in the Balkans and that English public opinion would not support action in behalf of Serbia. It was clearly indicated also, by Sir Edward Grey, that war between the Central Empires and Russia would not provoke British intervention unless France were involved. Whatever understanding existed between the French and British Governments, whatever obligations of honor had been assumed, the prospect of armed co-operation was expressly limited to defense against an unprovoked attack and was made conditional, so far as England was concerned, upon the approval of Parliament. That approval, it need not be said, was itself dependent upon public opinion. That the British Government took these reservations seriously is shown by the fact, revealed since the outbreak of the war, that in 1912 it assured the German Government that no aggressive movement against Germany would receive any support from Great Britain. At that time, as we learn from official statements issued by the German Foreign Office July 19, 1915, and by the British Foreign Office August 31, 1915, the British assurance might have been embodied in a formal treaty if Germany had so desired. The negotiations for such a treaty came to nothing, because the German diplomatists found the British proposal inadequate and the British diplomatists found the German counter-proposals too broad or too ambiguous. In the course of these negotiations Sir Edward

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Grey stated to the German Ambassador in London " that if Germany desired to crush France, England might not be able to sit still; though if France were aggressive and attacked Germany, no support would be given by His Majesty's Government." The fact that no treaty was signed did not deprive the British assurances of all value. They remained a political asset for Germany, if Germany chose to use them. The British Government seems to have taken them seriously up to the outbreak of the war, for from July 24 to August 1, 1914, it steadily refused to declare itself " solidary " with Russia and France or to promise France armed support. As late as August 1, in response to a personal appeal from the President of the French Republic, King George could promise nothing more than to " continue to discuss freely and frankly any point which might arise of interest to our two nations." In President Poincaré's letter, as in previous appeals from Russia and from France, it was urged that if Germany were convinced that England would give armed support to the cause of the Triple Entente, peace might be preserved; and some British and American writers have affirmed their belief that this was true. Considering, however, that the British Government had promised to give no support to any aggressive action against Germany, and that up to August 1 it was uncertain whether Germany would attack Russia and France or await attack from these Powers, it is obvious that the British Government could not honorably give the desired assurances. Neither could it do —even if it can be conceived to have desired to do—what the German Chancellor urged it to do and has since persisted that it should have done, namely, assure Russia and France that it would not support them; for, as the Chancellor very well knew, and admitted to the British Ambassador in Berlin on July 29, using almost the very words which Sir Edward Grey had addressed to the German Ambassador in London two years before: " Great Britain would never stand by and allow France to be crushed." Bound in honor to support France against an unprovoked attack from Germany, bound also in honor to take no part in an attack upon Germany, the British Government could only await the action of the continental Powers. When the German Chancellor began to try to find out on what conditions England would remain neutral, Sir Edward Grey replied, July 30, that " the one way of maintaining the good

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relations between England and Germany is that they should continue to work together to preserve the peace of Europe." This way, however, was closed to the German Government by its plan of campaign. Time spent in trying to preserve the peace of Europe would be time given to Germany's enemies. The further attempts made by Germany to ascertain on what conditions, other than that stated by Sir Edward Grey in 1912 and restated on July 30, 1914, it could assure itself of British neutrality seem inexplicable, unless they were dictated by that primitive form of diplomatic finesse which consists in asking questions for the sake of saying afterwards that they were asked. When, on August 1, Germany declared war on Russia because Russia refused to demobilize, Sir Edward Grey's hands were freed. The Entente had the law on its side; Germany had begun. On August 2, accordingly, he told the French Ambassador that the British fleet would give all the protection in its power against any hostile operations of the German fleet. On the very next day he informed the House of Commons of his action. He was able to support it with all the weight of the imponderables. After reminding his hearers that the French fleet was concentrated in the Mediterranean, he said:

> My own feeling is that if a foreign fleet, engaged in *a war which France had not sought, and in which she had not been the aggressor,* came down the English Channel and bombarded and battered the undefended coasts of France, we could not stand aside . . . with our arms folded, looking on dispassionately, doing nothing. I believe that would be the feeling of the country.

He also stated that, in reply to inquiries from the British Government, France had promised to respect the neutrality of Belgium, but Germany had given no answer. He further informed the House that, on the previous evening, Germany had demanded unmolested passage for its troops through Belgium and that the Belgian Government had refused the demand. On the following day (August 4) the British Government presented its ultimatum, demanding that Germany respect the neutrality of Belgium. German troops, however, had already crossed the Belgian frontier.

If Germany had awaited attack from Russia and from France; if at the outset it had held itself on the defensive against France, alike with its navy (as the German Ambassador in London himself suggested) and with its land forces;

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if it had respected the neutrality of Luxemburg and of Belgium—on what ground could England have based a declaration of war? It is of course true that for centuries it has been England's policy to maintain the balance of power in Europe, and that it has repeatedly supported continental coalitions against any State that threatened to dominate the Continent, particularly if that State was developing sea-power. It is arguable that if England had not supported France and Russia in the present war, no matter who began it, it would have lost a promising chance to check the growth of German sea-power and might, within a few years, have had to defend itself single-handed against the attack of a Germany flushed with victory and stronger than in 1914. It is on this *cui bono* line of reasoning that German writers base their assumption that the British Government intended from the outset to support France, no matter what Germany did or refrained from doing. There is, however, no direct evidence that even tends to support this assumption. On the other hand, evidence has been accumulating, since the outbreak of the war, that if there was (as there well may have been) a war party in the Cabinet, it was in a minority until August 2, and that even then there was no majority for full intervention, on land as well as at sea, until Germany invaded Belgium. Is it indeed conceivable that the government in power in August, 1914, pledged to take no part in any aggressive movement against Germany, preoccupied with far-reaching plans of social reform, embarrassed by the prospect of civil war in Ireland, could have proposed a war to preserve the balance of power on land and to secure British predominance on the seas? We must not forget that, as the situation actually developed, and in spite of Germany's aggressive conduct, two members of the Cabinet chose to resign rather than support intervention. And if, in the situation supposed, the Cabinet had decided upon intervention, could it have obtained the support of the House of Commons? Would Home Rulers, Radicals and Labor members, who constituted so large a part of its following, have agreed that the measures which they had most at heart should be shelved during the continuance of such a war? Would it not have occurred to them that these measures might be held up for years afterward, on the ground that the necessity of financing an enormous war debt made it impossible to put them into operation? Would they not have

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seen, in the suggestion of such a war, the stale device of conservative statecraft:

> To busy giddy minds
> With foreign quarrels; that action, hence borne out,
> May waste the memory of the former days?

Had Germany pursued the course above outlined, it seems certain that it could have counted upon British neutrality, at least until Russia had been forced to come to terms and France was in danger of being crushed. Under any conceivable circumstances, it would have been difficult to solidify English opinion at a later period as it was solidified at the outset by the aggressive action of Germany; and if England had intervened later, it would have acted half-heartedly. Its forces would probably have been limited, so far as warfare on land was concerned, to its regular troops, supported by a relatively small volunteer army. The Empire could hardly have gathered the millions of men who are now fighting on the Continent or training in English camps. Conscription would have been unthinkable.

Had England remained neutral, it is obvious that Japan could not have gone into the war (as it did) as England's ally. If the temptation to fish in troubled waters had proved irresistible, it is by no means certain that Japan would have attacked Germany. With England neutral and German warships at large, the reduction of Germany's East-Asiatic stronghold would have been a more difficult enterprise. At the end of July, 1914, when England's attitude was still uncertain, there were voices in Tokio, heard gladly and quoted promptly in Berlin, asserting that a Russian-German war would give Japan a favorable opportunity to extend its sphere of influence in Manchuria.

Italy would of course have declared itself neutral, even if Russia had attacked Austria. In 1913, when Rome was informed that Vienna proposed to take action against Serbia and hoped for Italian support, the Italian position was clearly stated: Italy would regard such action as aggressive and would not consider itself bound to aid its ally. Whether, however, under the circumstances supposed, Italy would have denounced its treaty with Austria and would have joined the opposing coalition is at least doubtful. Apart from the influence of the imponderables upon public sentiment, very material considerations would have tended to keep Italy out of the war. With England neutral and the

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German fleet at large, the naval situation in the Mediterranean would have been quite different. Even if the French and Italian naval forces were deemed equal or superior to those of the Central Empires, Italy's long coast line could not have been effectively protected without English aid.

It seems probable, then, that if Austria and Germany had followed the Bismarckian tradition, waiting for Russia and France to attack them, and if Germany had conducted its military campaign on the lines suggested by the elder Moltke and approved by Bismarck, defensively in the West, offensively in the East, not only England but Italy also would have remained neutral, and Japan might again have been Russia's enemy instead of Russia's ally.

Under such conditions it is obvious that Germany's position in the world at large, outside of Europe, would have been much better than it is. With its navy at large, England neutral and Japan either neutral or its ally, its merchant marine could not have been swept from the seas, nor could its colonies have been conquered.

What would have been its position in Europe? On this point one need not be a military expert to risk an opinion: even the layman has the record of a year's fighting on which to base conclusions. Covered by the neutrality of Luxemburg and of Belgium, attacked by France only on the frontier which Moltke deemed amply protected, can it be doubted that a part, and the lesser part, of its forces would have sufficed to hold the French in check? During its great drive in the East, in 1915, it was able, with half or less than half of its forces, to hold not only the French but also the Belgians and the English practically immobile on a far longer line than that of the German-French frontier.

It was of course claimed by the German Government at the outbreak of the war that Germany's western front was not in fact covered by the neutrality of Belgium. In its ultimatum to Belgium it stated that it had " reliable information " that the French Government intended to send troops through Belgian territory against Germany. Not only, however, has Germany thus far failed to show that its apprehensions were justified, but the French Government's formal promise to respect Belgian neutrality and the manner in which the French forces were concentrated at the outbreak of the war seem to show that Germany's information was not reliable. And, except in Germany, it is obvious to everyone

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that if France had sent its troops through Belgium to attack Germany, not only would France have had no support from England in such an enterprise, but if in the progress of the war the French troops had been thrown back into their own territory and France had been threatened with overwhelming defeat, its chances of securing aid from England would have been seriously impaired. English public opinion would not readily have pardoned a violation of Belgian neutrality by either of the belligerents.

The success of the German-Austrian campaign against Russia during the Summer and early Autumn of 1915, after Russia had had a year's time in which "to bring up masses of troops from all parts of her wide dominions," justifies us in believing that similar results could have been achieved, under the elder Moltke's plan of campaign, in the Autumn of 1914. Protected by the German offensive against Russian invasion, Austria could have completed its conquest of Serbia. In the Balkans the Central Empires could apparently have done about what they pleased, even without armed assistance from Turkey. "In politics," as Bismarck said, "it is never possible to give mathematical proofs"; but it seems highly probable that, by following the lines of diplomatic and military action above indicated, the Central Empires could have secured, before the Winter of 1914-15, with a much less serious expenditure of blood and treasure, a stronger position than they now hold.

In one respect, indeed, Germany's military position would have been less satisfactory than it now is. It would not have been in possession of the industrial resources of Belgium and of northeastern France. This advantage, however, is seriously lessened, if not outweighed, by the fact that the industrial resources of Great Britain and of the United States have been thrown, to a far greater extent than would have been possible but for Germany's own course of action, upon the side of the hostile coalition.

Assuming that the avowed political aims of the German Government were its real aims—that it declared war against Russia only because the vital interests, if not the very existence, of Austria-Hungary were menaced by Russian ambition and pan-Slavic aspirations, and that it attacked France only because France was certain to act with Russia —it is difficult to account on purely military grounds for the rejection of the elder Moltke's plan of campaign. If, how-

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ever, it be assumed that the decision of the German Government was determined by political aims other than those which it avowed, the choice of the western frontier for aggressive action becomes explicable. A vigorous offensive against Russia, at the opening of the war, might well have dissipated the Slavic peril and gained for Austria a dominant position in the Balkans. What reward, however, would victory in a war so conducted have brought to Germany? Austrian control of the Balkans would indeed have been of advantage to the German people: it would have facilitated the penetration, not of the Balkan peninsula only but also of Asia, by German trade, industry and capital. Could these advantages, however, be regarded, from the military-political point of view, as a sufficient recompense for Germany's expenditure of money and of men, or as an adequate prize of victory? If not, what other prizes were in sight? The annexation of Russian territory could not be viewed as an unmixed advantage: Prussia has trouble enough with its present Polish population. In the West, however, are territories that Germany may well covet. The German ultimatum to Belgium contained a distinct threat of annexation. In its last effort to avert British intervention, the German Foreign Office pointed out that Germany "could not profitably annex Belgian territory without making at the same time territorial acquisitions at the expense of Holland," and that Germany had solemnly pledged its word to Holland "strictly to respect its neutrality." If, however, Belgium were annexed, would it be possible for Holland long to remain outside the Germans Customs Union? And would not that Union be for Holland, as it was for all the lesser German States, the halfway house on the road to political union? With such prospects in view, could not Germany "profitably annex Belgian territory," as well as some of the adjacent French districts which were sure to fall into its hands if it opened the war with a prompt offensive in the West?

If the Central Empires fail to win victories so decisive as to make annexations possible, the future historian may say that it was, from the military point of view, a mistake to try to conquer southeastern and northwestern territory in a single war; and that the political calculations which seem to have determined the plan of campaign were wrong because due weight was not attached to the imponderables.

MUNROE SMITH.

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SHALL WE DEFEND THE MONROE DOCTRINE?

BY ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

THE theory, practice and spirit of the Monroe Doctrine and all its successors has been that it is a means of avoiding war of all kinds—war between Latin-American States; war between the European Powers and our neighbors; above all, war between the United States and non-American Powers. Hence statesmen and writers have been in the habit for many years of thinking that because the Doctrine's aims are peace, it can reach that end wholly by peaceful methods.

The United States has not been alone in believing that large principles of State policy may be carried out by pourparlers, by dispatches, by understandings, by treaties and by arbitration. The whole trend of the modern science of international law has been to prevent quarrels, first by laying down in advance rules accepted by both parties to a controversy; secondly, by providing means of accommodating differences either by a special arbitration or by an arbitral system; thirdly, by striving with much success to create the presumption that difficulties that seem insuperable may be settled, if both parties sincerely desire to avoid war.

The position of the United States has been especially firm in the direction of peace. With two rather serious reservations we have always felt a spirit of peace toward our near neighbors. The Mexican War was a backward step; but, so far, no other Latin-American State has been forcibly deprived of territory by the United States, except Colombia. The recent advances in the Caribbean Sea and Central America have taken the alluring form of aid and sympathy to distressed peoples who could not organize their little governments sufficiently for their own protection. The pre-

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sumption of the United States, of her people, of Congress and of the Administration, is that America should be at external peace, and that peaceful methods are adequate.

The conditions of the world call for modesty, foresight and preparation by the United States. This is a great nation; its continental population of one hundred millions is the largest aggregate of people of western civilization under one Government except the Russian Empire. Size is no complete measure of world greatness; but mankind has up to this time been much impressed with the potentiality of America. Here is a country which might raise ten million troops, build a thousand ships of war, land vast armies in Europe and Asia. The world, however, is just now learning a lesson of the weakness of strong nations—of the inability of millions of soldiers to push aside and overrun a smaller number of millions. France, Italy, and Russia are populous but they have all felt the misery of him who bites the file. Before the mind of the world has come the brutal fact that no nation conquers or protects itself by means of mass.

All men of good-will hope that after the terrific storm and stress of this war have passed, there may be a return to the milder methods of the past. No one nation is responsible for the present worship of power. Many nations may co-operate in an era of peaceful adjustment. In the midst of all these efforts, stands the hard obelisk of physical force. So long as one great nation on earth desires war and is willing to risk war, all the good-will and humanity of the rest of mankind is brought in question. Nations which are not founded on force, which do not love it, which practice reason and argument in their Governments, are brought against their will into this conflict of weights. Unless they have big guns, swarms of ships, adequate means of transportation, masses of soldiers, they are subject to destruction by those who know how to combine those elements into the most crushing and terrific human projectile that the world has ever known.

The current philosophy of the foreign war is based on the undeniable proposition that superior force will conquer inferior force. The new and the harmful part of the doctrine put forward, especially by the Germans, is an appeal to cultivate force as the approach to all the manly and desirable virtues upon which a State can be built. First conquest, then your own terms, then a re-civilization of the con-

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quered—and all this to make your own country great! If this is a principle upon which permanent empires can be built, then it is the war cry of the future.

Other powerful empires like that of the United States are founded upon the counter idea of accommodation, of the expression of the various wills of regions, races, and individuals, of mutual understanding within a country and between countries. The United States is definitely committed to the belief that force is the last remedy and not the first, that force can be avoided by wise and considerate government; that the worship of force degenerates into the worship of those who exercise that force, till the sword and the helmet and the shoulder-straps seem the most beautiful and splendid things on earth.

The doctrine of peace has made no startling inroads on our twenty neighboring republics. Three of them, The Argentine, Brazil and Chile, in the last twenty years have come out of the hurly-burly of internal and civil wars and have a distinct sense that this is their opportunity to develop in wealth, commerce and in intellectual life. Alongside the A. B. C. countries is a group of large territorial States, Mexico, Colombia, Peru and Venezuela. All four States furnish examples of the most serious impediment to peace in America, and therefore the most potent necessity for the Monroe Doctrine. They are still in a state of imperfect civilization. Their revolutions seem to require some sort of regulating doctrine, but forbid that such a doctrine should be one of complete peace.

We have felt confident that five other once independent States, now reduced to American protectorates,—Cuba, Santo Domingo, Panama, Nicaragua and Haiti,—will make no more mischief. That confidence has been borne out so far, but there are strong reasons for believing that sooner or later they will raise more revolutions. Revolution is in their blood, and to deprive the Haitians and Central Americans of their revolution is like depriving them of their bull fight—it grieves their moral sense. Revolution seems also to be in our blood, for neither the State nor National Governments can prevent risings within our own borders, which would be called insurrections in Latin-America. West Virginia and Colorado have both suffered within a few months from what were really armed revolutions. There will be no permanent peace either in the independent American

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States or in the protectorates without some pressure from outside; and pressure is force, and may be war.

This new necessity of keeping the peace in formerly free and independent territories is bound to compel the United States to exercise military power. When Santo Domingo defaulted on its bonds ten years ago, that was no offense against the United States, though a reason for intervention. Nevertheless, if Santo Domingo should now try to get back where it was in 1904, it would involve a denial of the authority of the United States and would be treated as rebellion. That word was recently applied even to the Haitians, when they tried in a feeble way to resist the handful of American troops sent down to establish what is virtually an American protectorate. Our protectorates are a standing incitement to the use of military force in keeping up civil government.

The United States has always shown forbearance and good nature toward the larger Latin-American Powers. We have never had war with Bolivia or Ecuador or Uruguay, though the United States navy showed its teeth to the Paraguayans in 1859. The distinction between them and weaker States like Nicaragua is not fundamental. In the long run what will prevent placing a United States official at the head of the customs organization of Venezuela as well as of Haiti, if the behavior of the two Governments be the same? However creditable, however necessary, however unavoidable, this policy may be, it makes of the Monroe Doctrine something which not only may require war, but in the end almost certainly will lead to war.

A possible method of protecting the Doctrine would be either a previous understanding or a special treaty by which the Saxon and Latin-American States should protect each other in case of need, by a union of military forces. Under present conditions the United States would be expected to furnish nearly all the naval power for such a war; while the Latin-Americans would equip chiefly land troops which conceivably might be transported into a field of war outside their own country.

Any tyro in military affairs can see at once the difficulties of an effective alliance between Powers which are not connected by land routes. The Inter-American railway, proposed as far back as 1890, would be a great help in such warfare, but for the fact that no steps are taken to complete it; and that it would be subject to breakage by enemy occupa-

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tion of the Isthmus. Concentrated operations would require transport by sea on an immense scale. In fact, inasmuch as nearly all the Latin-American countries have seacoasts, the likelihood is that each one would hold its troops back for self-defense against possible invasion. We can hardly conceive of Brazil allowing the transfer of a hundred thousand troops from the Amazon to help defend the Chesapeake.

The difficulties of concerted action under common command are manifest. Doubtless the United States would always be willing to furnish commanders for Mexican or Chilean contingents; would there be equal readiness to place American army corps and squadrons under Colombian or Ecuadorian generals? The utmost that could be expected is that all the capable Powers would agree to fight like devils while the war lasted. In case of a defensive war against a strong naval Power, nobody could be sure where the blow would fall. Sound tactics would seem to direct a European enemy toward the richest part of America, where most harm could be done and most progress could be made toward compelling a favorable peace. If an English or a German army were to land on the Jersey coast, there would be very little hope of aid from the Southward; on the other hand, an attempt by a European Power to conquer Cuba, Mexico or Brazil would give scope for the American navy.

Such dangerous times may come that every American Power will accept any allies that it can find. Still, in this day of swift attack and terrific impact, the United States is bound to bear the shock of any European invasion. In the long run, one might organize a joint force of combined America which could defend the most vulnerable points in both hemispheres. However, there is no force known to man except a powerful navy which could prevent a strong, determined enemy from landing where it listed, in either North or South America or the West Indies, at places very unfavorable to the defenders. The difficulty with any defensive alliance is that it multiplies points of attack on both continents, without really strengthening the one power which must bear the brunt of an Inter-Hemisphere war.

After all, people who think about it are aware that war is an unwritten part of the Monroe Doctrine, but it is supposed to be war against weak and disorganized peoples whose resistance must be brief, so that the loss of life and property will be trifling; although our experience in the Philippines

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and possible future experience in Mexico suggest that a weak and poorly armed people who methodically hate us, can make it very difficult for large bodies of more highly civilized troops. When it comes to warfare between great nations, the experience of the last year shows that no fortresses, not even those built in the most recent and scientific fashion, will stand big gun fire; and that an army without modern artillery is nothing but a target for slaughter. With the means now at her command, the United States could easily deal with dependencies and protectorates, even if all should rise together; and our antiquated military system would probably furnish sufficient troops and organization to meet any belligerent American neighbor, or any combination of such neighbors that is likely to be made against us. Is that all that is needed for defending the Monroe Doctrine?

Though that Doctrine works against the Latin-Americans, it is worthless if it would not also work against other Powers. If some of those other Powers push the question to an issue, who is going to take the responsibility of resisting them? No peaceful methods can be suggested which can be depended upon permanently to maintain the Monroe Doctrine, for they are all subject to the inherent weakness of dividing the responsibility between the American Powers. The United States announced the Doctrine, regulates it, applies it, profits by it; the United States alone can enforce it. It is a militant doctrine in so far as the United States means to defend her diplomatic principles at all hazards. The American people appear to believe that the decision as to their intention to fight for it may be safely postponed until they are asked to fight for it. Upon this question the best military authorities seem to be agreed that the Doctrine will lead to war if we adhere to it; it is bound to lead to war if any powerful nation is willing to risk war with us for the sake of what it may pick up in America.

An old tradition holds that it is unthinkable that the United States should ever be actually involved in war with a European Power. That cherished belief has had many hard knocks. One was the Spanish War, in which the United States enjoyed the dangerous sport of breaking down one of the weakest of the middle group of European nations. To be sure Great Britain is manifestly unwilling to come to fisticuffs with the United States; and France and Russia have no causes of quarrel with us. Therefore, most people nowa-

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days, when they muse upon war with Europe, mean war with Germany.

The Monroe Doctrine, The American Doctrine, The Doctrine of Permanent Interest—call it what you will—is an announcement to the world, a promise to Latin-America, and a pledge to the American people, that the United States will resist Germany or any other European or Asiatic country which may attempt to invade any part of the Western Hemisphere,—Canada included. Resistance which does not resist has no place in this wicked world. A sensible people must make up its mind how far its resistance means a willingness to meet the cost and sacrifices of war.

In view of these difficulties, might not the United States simply withdraw her claims to any form of special Doctrine, while preserving the ultimate right of self-defense which is every nation's guerdon? Why not treat the Doctrine as unnecessary and obsolete? Why not leave other States to the process which Bismarck so piquantly suggested for France, "Let her cook in her own gravy"? Why should we bestir ourselves about countries more distant from us than either Europe or Asia?

The answer is that the United States does not cherish the Monroe Doctrine for the sake of other countries but for our own welfare. "Giving up the Monroe Doctrine" would not relieve us from the dangers and hostilities which would result from new European settlements in any position which gave command of our coasts or of the approaches to the Panama Canal. Great Britain has points of vantage in those waters, but seems to have no enterprise ahead in America, south of Canada. It is much more likely that the Bermudas, the Bahamas, Jamaica and the Lesser Antilles will eventually be amicably transferred to the United States than that they will be used by England as bases for naval warfare against us.

No formal assurance to the world that we are not interested, especially in the Caribbean area, Central America and the northern part of South America, will ever take away the fact that we are and must be interested. It is now out of the power of the United States to decide whether it is worth while to hold the region about the Gulf of Mexico. A combination of Latin-American Powers with European or Asiatic Powers against the United States is very improbable; because, whatever our lack of confidence and regard

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toward the Latin-Americans, we are more interested in their permanence than is Germany or Japan. Still, such a combination is not impossible, and the easiest way to prevent it is to ward off all remote approaches toward the planting of non-American Powers in America.

If the flank of the United States would be exposed by the invasion of a neighboring country, it is equally true that the invader must present a flank toward us. With or without a Monroe Doctrine, the chief obstacle to the establishment of colonies by an external Power will always be the United States. Therefore, some bold and military foreign nation, possessed of a great navy and army, may sometime find it good military tactics to attack the United States, and if possible, put us out of the game, as a preliminary to seizing other American territory. No abdication of the Monroe Doctrine would dispose of the three geographic facts that the United States is in the middle of the Americas; owns the Panama Canal; and controls three large West Indian islands and at least two Central American States. Nor is the spirit of the American people one which is willing to secure peace and safety by undertaking beforehand not to be aroused by such a conflict. The time to give up the Monroe Doctrine,—if there ever was such a time,—was when Secretary Seward began to lay the foundations for a Canal policy of ownership and management. The Canal cannot be held except on terms and by efforts which require us to be either masters or allies of the neighboring countries.

The bulwarks of International Law are apparently giving way, and we have contributed to that result by accepting the maxim of European statesmen that weak nations of inferior racial or military power are a legitimate prey for stronger nations. That principle has been carried out in Poland, in the Balkans, in Turkey, in Central Asia, in China, in the Pacific islands and in Africa. Of late it has been applied to Belgium. It is familiar to us in the West Indies and Central America. It will infallibly be transferred by Europe to America, if there is sufficient motive and sufficient strength. Balances of power in Europe may delay it. The suffering and weakening caused by the present war may postpone it; but the only effective obstacle to-day, and far in the future, must be the resistance of the United States.

The United States appears to intend to stand by the Doctrine though in the end it lead to war. One reason is the

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national love of moral principles. The Spanish War of 1898 began as a humanitarian movement for the relief of suffering. Still, the United States is not likely to declare war on anybody simply from friendship and sympathy for somebody else; but the statesman who assures his countrymen that bold and desperate nations are attacking the sacredness of the Monroe Doctrine, will probably carry them with him into war for the principle.

Another influence which is certain to make itself felt is that of hostile fleets and armies passing and re-passing along our coasts and islands, where the only fleet bent upon destruction that has been seen for near a hundred years was the unfortunate squadron of Cervera in 1898. We feel little interest in the throat-cutting of one Latin-American by another, but a profound dislike of the same process when applied from outside the boundaries of America.

In any case the United States as a sensitive nation ought to see where danger lies. The present European War shows how the devouring flame of war spreads from country to country. War in the Caribbean, or Central America or Mexico, or Colombia, is next door to the United States; and war in Brazil or Chile, or The Argentine, would be looked upon as preparing the ground for a later approach to our frontiers.

Upon the face of things, the country is ready to accept the danger of war, whether for the Monroe Doctrine or for the protection of foreign trade, or for any other obvious national interest. Certain newspapers have made it their business for many years to blow up the coals; and have boasted, —perhaps with reason,—that they brought on the war of 1898. To read the editorials, one would think that the American people are on the *qui vive* to assert the dignity and power and policy of their country. During the European War there have been many incitements to take part on one side or the other. Since the Monroe Doctrine is accepted by the American people, embodied in State papers, known to all nations, and concerns the vital interests of the United States, of course it must be defended.

Is the nation, is Congress, are the newspapers, really ready to carry out their own bold determinations? If so, they must face the difficulties and the cost. Potential armies and navies are no longer regarded. In a world which has just seen the might of England and of Russia defied, small

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preparations and weak forces simply do not count. The only proof of a genuine belief in the Monroe Doctrine and a real intention to carry it out, is willingness to provide the men and the ships, without which it will eventually become a scoffing and a by-word.

The country seems to have learned nothing from an experience of a century and a half. Washington clearly and vainly pointed out to Congress that militia were a costly and unreliable kind of military force, yet militia have been the main dependence in every war since his time and apparently are expected to do most of the fighting in any future war. In the Spanish War of 1898 a proud republic of ninety million people succeeded, two months after the declaration of war, in sending seventeen thousand men to Cuba! The transports of the army were chartered vessels which refused to obey the orders of the commander of the squadron. The confusion, loss, and needless sacrifice of life was a national humiliation. In the whole war 345 men died from wounds and 3850 from disease.

The army has since been increased; for a like trifling expedition forces and transports could now be found within a few days; but seventeen thousand men could not occupy and defend two miles of the lines of trenches which characterize modern warfare. Congress has never authorized the men, the guns, the ammunition, the officers, the military and naval staff which would be necessary for any real defense against an invading European force. When the European War is over, this country will be at the mercy of any one of half a dozen foreign Powers that might feel hostile—or would be at their mercy, but for our navy.

The defeat of that navy by a combination of Powers or by a single Power, would lead in a few weeks to an invasion of the United States: the people of this country would then learn the meaning of Monroe's famous phrases: "Extend their political systems to any portion of either continent" and "for the purpose of oppressing them, on controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European Power." Without a different kind and degree of military preparation on our part, the time may come when Brazil will pronounce a new doctrine forbidding European nations to meddle with the feeble United States.

The combination of great sensitiveness as to any movement against other parts of America, alongside an unwill-

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ingness to expend either the money or the skill necessary to enable us to aid our neighbors, spells nothing but disaster. If we stand by the ordinarily received Monroe Doctrine, it is in the power of any one of twenty other American Powers to antagonize some European Power, and thus to exact from us a resort to war. The United States has snuffed out five of these highly charged local bombs by our new system of protectorates; but every one of these protectorates must be protected or abandoned, in case of war. On one side the United States is loading up with weak dependencies in Asia and America which are incapable of self-defense, but which must be policed and if necessary garrisoned. On the other side, while thus increasing the present need of a strong army and navy, the United States satisfies herself with a force which could not even defend our own coasts.

No prophet since the time of Elijah has enjoyed predicting evil; and no observer can be sure that he has taken into account all the elements of his problem or has given them proper weight. A few obvious deductions may nevertheless be made from the facts just discussed and from the general conditions of the world.

1. Till recently, there has been little to tempt European nations in the conditions of America; but they have been drawn in by trade, are affected by civil wars and dissensions and, to some degree, by their people who have emigrated to South America.

2. The effect of the great European war is to encourage the Doctrine of the Strongest and a spirit of adventure on the part of powerful nations. The likelihood of an invasion of America is therefore greater than at any previous time.

3. The United States is compelled to take account of these changes in the world's conditions, not because there has been a Monroe Doctrine, but because such a change in the status of America would be threatening and ultimately dangerous to the United States.

4. The force of circumstances and conditions therefore compels the United States to feel that special interest which is expressed by the term Doctrine of Permanent Interest.

5. The Monroe Doctrine is difficult to maintain peacefully even toward the other American States; and unless Europe is about to enter on a new regime of international understandings and good-will, which seems very doubtful, the Doctrine is likely to be tested by some ambitious military Power.

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6. For such a contest the naval preparation of the United States is insufficient and her military organization is preposterously unfit. Either the country must face the responsibility which it assumes and prepare itself to meet it, or it must give up the Doctrine.

7. Even then the Doctrine will not give up the United States: for European settlements in America can be made only by war upon American countries, which would inevitably involve the United States sooner or later, with or without a Doctrine.

Briefly put, the so-called Monroe Doctrine is a formula which expresses a fact and not a policy. That fact is inherent in the political geography of the Americas and in the conditions of modern warfare. Even so peaceful a country as the United States, which desires no war and is bound to suffer heavily from any war in which she engages, whether victorious or defeated, may not have the choice. Peace can be maintained only by convincing Germany and Japan, which are the two Powers most likely to be moved by an ambition to possess American territory. But the United States will defend her interests even though they seem at first to be only indirectly affected. If we are not prepared to take that ground, the Monroe Doctrine is dead.

If we are willing to go to that limit, it must be proved by intelligent preparation. That means a new organization through powerful general staffs and a centralization of the War Department and Navy Department, which Congress has never been willing to authorize. It means an enlargement of the military and naval forces and ultimately some form of military training of the Swiss type. It means a willingness to face the world as it is, and no longer to live in the delusion that we are protected by a paper Monroe Doctrine.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART.

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NAVAL PRINCIPLES

BY REAR ADMIRAL BRADLEY A. FISKE, U. S. N.

In order to realize what principles govern the use of navies, let us first consider what navies have to do, and get history's data as to what navies in the past have done. In a magazine article it would obviously not be possible to recount all the doings of navies. But neither would it be necessary; for the reason that, throughout the long periods of time in which history recounts them, their activities have nearly always been the same.

In all cases in which navies have been used for war there was the preliminary dispute, often long-continued, between two peoples, or their rulers, and at last the decision of the dispute by force. In all cases the decision went to the side that could exert the most force at the critical times and places. The fact that the causes of war have been civil, and not military, demands consideration, for the reason that some people, confusing cause and effect, incline to the belief that armies and navies are the cause of war, and that they are to be blamed for its horrors. History clearly declares the contrary, and shows that the only rôle of armies and navies has been to wage wars, and, by waging, to finish them.

It may be well here, in order to clear away a possible preconception by the reader, to try and dispel the illusion that army and navy officers are eager for war, in order that they may get promotion. This idea has been exploited by people opposed to the development of the army and navy, and has been received with so much credulity that it seriously handicaps the endeavors of officers to get an unbiased hearing. But surely the foolishness of such an idea would promptly disappear from the brain of anyone if he would remind himself that simply because a man joins the army or navy he does not cease to be a human being, with the same emotions of fear as other men, the same sensitiveness to

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pain, the same dread of death, and the same horror of leaving his family unsupported after his death. It is true that men in armies and navies are educated to dare death if need be; but the present writer has been through two wars, has been well acquainted with army and navy officers for forty-five years, and knows positively that, barring exceptions, they do not desire war at all.

Without going into an obviously impossible discussion of all naval wars, it may be instructive to consider briefly the four naval wars in which the United States has engaged.

The first was the War of the American Revolution. This war is instructive to those who contend that the United States is so far from Europe as to be safe from attack by a European fleet; because the intervening distance was frequently traversed then by British and French fleets of frail, slow, sailing ships, which were vital factors in the war. Without the British warships, the British could not have landed and supported their troops. Without the French warships the French could not have landed and supported their troops, who, under Rochambeau, were also under Washington, and gave him the assistance that he woefully needed, to achieve by arms our independence.

The War of 1812 is instructive from the fact that, though the actions of our naval ships produced little material effect, the skill, daring and success with which they were fought convinced Europeans of the high character and consequent noble destiny of the American people. The British were so superior in sea strength, however, that they were able to send their fleet across the ocean and land a force on the shores of Chesapeake Bay. This force marched to Washington, attacked the city, and burned the Capitol and other public buildings, with little inconvenience to itself.

The War of the Rebellion is instructive, because it shows how two earnest peoples, each believing themselves right, can be forced, by the very sincerity of their convictions, to wage war against each other; and because it shows how unpreparedness for war, with its accompanying ignorance of the best way in which to wage it, causes undue duration of a war and therefore needless suffering. If the North had not closed its eyes so resolutely to the fact of the coming struggle, it would have noted beforehand that the main weakness of the Confederacy lay in its dependence on revenue from cotton, and its inability to provide a navy that could

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prevent a blockade of its coasts; and the North would have instituted a blockade so tight that the Confederacy would have been forced to yield much sooner than it did. The North would have made naval operations the main effort, instead of the auxiliary effort; and would have substituted for much of the protracted and bloody warfare of the land the quickly decisive and comparatively merciful warfare of the sea.

In the Spanish War the friction between the United States and Spain was mainly about Cuba. No serious thought of the invasion of either country was entertained, no invasion was attempted, and the only land engagements were some minor engagements in Cuba. The critical operations were purely naval. In the first of these, Commodore Dewey's squadron destroyed the entire Far Eastern squadron of the Spanish in Manila Bay; in the second, Admiral Sampson's squadron destroyed the entire Atlantic squadron of the Spanish near Santiago de Cuba. The two naval victories compelled Spain to make terms of peace practically as the United States wished. Attention is requested to the fact that this war was not a war of conquest, was not a war of aggression, was not a war of invasion, was not a war carried on by either side for any base purpose; but was in its intention and its results for the benefit of mankind.

The Russo-Japanese war was due to conflicting national policies. While each side accused the other of selfish ends, it is not apparent to a disinterested observer that either was unduly selfish in its policy, or was doing more than every country ought to advance the interests and promote the welfare of its people. Russia naturally had a great deal of interest in Manchuria, and felt that she had a right to expand through the uncivilized regions of Manchuria, especially since she needed a satisfactory outlet to the sea. In other words, the interests of Russia were in the line of its expanding to the eastward. But Japan's interests were precisely the reverse of Russia's—that is, Japan's interests demanded that Russia should not do those things that Russia wanted to do. Japan felt that Russia's movement toward the East was bringing her entirely too close to Japan. Russia was too powerful a country, and too aggressive, to be trusted so close. Japan had the same feeling toward Russia that any man might have on seeing another man, heavily armed, gradually coming closer to him in the night. Japan

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especially wished that Russia should have no foothold in Corea, feeling, as she expressed it, that the point of Corea under Russian power would be a dagger directed at the heart of Japan. This feeling about Corea was the same feeling that every country has about land near her; it has a marked resemblance to the feeling that the United States has embodied in its Monroe Doctrine.

After several years of negotiation in which Japan and Russia endeavored to secure their respective aims by diplomacy, diplomacy was finally abandoned and the sword taken up instead. Japan, *because of the superior foresight of her statesmen,* was the first to realize that diplomacy must fail, was the first to realize that she must prepare for war, was the first to begin adequate preparation for war, was the first to complete preparation for war, was the first to strike, and in consequence was the victor. Yet Russia was a very much larger, richer, more populous country than Japan.

Russia sent large forces of soldiers to Manchuria by the trans-Siberian railroad, and Japan sent large forces there by transports across the Sea of Japan. Japan could not prevent the passage of soldiers by the railroad, but Russia could prevent the passage of transports across the Japan Sea, provided her fleet could overcome the Japanese fleet and get command of the sea. Russia had a considerable fleet in the Far East; but she had so underestimated the naval ability of the Japanese, that the Russian fleet proved unequal to the task; and the Japanese gradually reduced it to almost nothing, with very little loss to themselves.

Russia then sent out another fleet. The Japanese met this fleet on the 27th of May, 1904, near the Island of Tsushima, between Corea and Japan. The battle was decided in about an hour. The Japanese sank practically all the Russian ships before the battle was entirely finished, with comparatively small loss to Japan. This battle was carried on 12,000 miles by sea route from St. Petersburg. No invasion of Russia or Japan was contemplated, or attempted, and yet the naval battle decided the issue of the war completely, and was followed by a treaty of peace very shortly afterward.

These wars show us, as do all wars in which navies have engaged, that the function of a navy is not only to defend the coast in the sense of preventing an enemy from landing on it, but also to exert force far distant from the coast. The study of war has taught its students for many centuries that

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a merely passive defense will finally be broken down, and that the most effective defense is the " offensive-defensive."

Perhaps the clearest case of a correct offensive-defensive is Nelson's defense of England, which he carried on in the Mediterranean, in the West Indies, and wherever the enemy fleet might be, finally defeating Napoleon's plan for invading England—not by waiting off the coast of England, but by attacking and crippling Napoleon's fleet off the Spanish coast near Trafalgar.

The idea held by many people that the defense of a country can be effected by simply preventing the invasion of its coasts, is a little like the notion of uneducated people that a disease can be cured by suppressing its symptoms. For even a successful defense of a coast against invasion by a hostile force cannot remove the inimical influence to a country's commerce and welfare which that hostile force exerts, any more than palliatives can cure dyspepsia. Every intelligent physician knows that the only way to cure a disease is to remove its cause; and every intelligent military or naval man knows that history teaches that the only way in which a country can defend itself successfully against an enemy is to defeat the armed force of that enemy—be it a force of soldiers on the land, or a force of warships on the sea. In naval parlance, " our objective is the enemy's fleet."

If the duty of a navy be merely to prevent the actual invasion of its country's coasts, a great mistake has been made by Great Britain, France, and other countries in spending so much money on their navies, and in giving so much attention to the education and training of their officers and enlisted men. To prevent actual invasion would be comparatively an easy task, one that could be performed by rows of forts along the coast, supplemented by mines and submarines. If that is the only kind of defense required, navies are hardly needed. The army in each country could man the forts, and operate the mines, and a special corps of the army could even operate the submarines, which (if their only office is to prevent actual invasion) need hardly leave the " three-mile limit " that skirts the coasts. If the people of any country do not care to have dealings outside; if the nation is willing to be in the position of a man who is safe so long as he stays in the house, but is afraid to go out doors, the problem of national defense is easy.

But if the people desire to prevent interference with what

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our Constitution calls "the general welfare," the problem becomes exceedingly complex and exceedingly grave—more complex and grave than any other problem that they have. If they desire that their ships shall be free to sail the seas, and their citizens to carry on business and to travel in other lands; and if they desire that their merchants shall be able to export their wares and their farmers their grain, also that the people shall be able to import the things they wish from foreign countries, then they must be able to exert actual physical force on the ocean at any point where vessels carrying their exports and imports may be threatened. Naval ships are the only means for doing this.

The possibility that an armed force sent to a given point at sea might have to fight an enemy force, brought about first the sending of more than one vessel, and later—as the mechanic arts progressed—the increasing of the size of individual vessels, and later still the development of novel types.

There are two main reasons for building a small number of large ships rather than a large number of small ships. The first reason is that large ships are much more steady, reliable, safe, and fast than small ships. The second reason is that, when designed for any given speed, the large ships have more space available for whatever is to be carried; one 15-knot ship of 20,000 tons normal displacement, for instance, has about one and a half times as much space available for cargo, guns and what not, as four 15-knot ships of 5,000 tons each. These two reasons apply to merchant ships as well as naval ships. A third reason applies to naval vessels only, and is that a few large ships can be handled much better together than a large number of small ships, and embody that "concentration of force" which it is the endeavor of strategy and tactics to secure. A fourth reason is the obvious one that large ships can carry larger guns than small ships.

The distinctly military (naval) purpose for which a warship is designed necessitates, first, that in addition to her ability to go rapidly and surely from place to place, she be able to exert physical force against an enemy ship or fort, and, second, that she have protection against the fire of guns and torpedoes from enemy ships and forts, against bombs dropped from air-craft, and against mines.

This means that a man-of-war, intended to exert the max-

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imum of physical force against an enemy, and to be able to withstand the maximum of punishment, must have guns and torpedoes for offense, and must have armor and cellular division of the hull for defense; the armor to keep out the enemy's shells, and the cellular division of the hull to prevent the admission of more water than can fill one water-tight compartment in case the ship is hit.

It must be admitted here that, at the present moment, torpedoes hold such large charges of explosive that the cellular division of ships does not adequately protect them. This means that a contest has been going on between torpedo makers and naval constructors like the contest between armor-makers and gun makers, and that just now the torpedo makers are in the lead. For this reason a battleship needs other protection than that imparted by its cellular subdivision. This is given by its "torpedo defense battery" of minor guns of about 5-inch caliber.

By reason of the great vulnerability of all ships to attack below the water-line, the torpedo was invented and developed. In its original form, the torpedo was motionless in the water, either anchored to the ground, or floating on the surface, and was in fact what now is called a "mine." But forty-seven years ago an Englishman named Whitehead invented the automobile, auto-steering, torpedo, which still bears his name. This torpedo is used in all the navies, and is launched on its mission from battleships, battle cruisers, destroyers, submarines, and other craft of various kinds.

Most torpedoes are to be found in destroyers—long, fast, frail vessels, averaging about 700 tons displacement, that are intended to dash at enemy ships at night, or under other favorable conditions, launch their torpedoes, and hurry away. The torpedo is "a weapon of opportunity." It has had a long, slow fight for its existence; but its success during the present war has established it firmly in naval warfare.

The submarine has followed the destroyer, and some people think will supplant it; though its relatively slow speed prevents those dashes that are the destroyer's rôle. The submarine is, however, a kind of destroyer that is submersible, in which the necessities of submersibility preclude great speed. The submarine was designed to accomplish a clear and definite purpose—a secret underwater attack on an enemy's ship in the vicinity. It has succeeded so well in its limited mission that some intelligent people declare that we

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need submarines only—ignoring the fact that, even if submarines could successfully prevent actual invasion, they could not carry on operations at a distance from their base of supplies. It is true that submarines may be made so large that they can steam at great speed from place to place, as capital ships steam now, carry large supplies of fuel and food, house their crews hygienically, and need no " mother ship " or tender. But if submarines achieve such size, they will be more expensive to build and run than battleships—and will be, in fact, submersible battleships. In other words, the submarine cannot displace the battleship, but may be developed and evolved into a new and highly specialized type of battleship.

The necessity for operating at long distances from a base carries with it the necessity for supplying more fuel than even a battleship can carry; and this means that colliers must be provided. In most countries the merchant service is so large that colliers can be taken from it, but in the United States no adequate merchant marine exists, and so it is found necessary to build navy colliers and have them in the fleet. The necessity for continuously supplying food and ammunition to the fleet necessitates supply ships and ammunition ships; but the problem of supplying food and ammunition is not so difficult as that of supplying fuel, for the reason that they are consumed more slowly.

In order to take care of the sick and wounded, and prevent them from hampering the activities of the well, hospital ships are needed. Hospital ships should, of course, be designed for that purpose before being constructed; but usually hospital ships were originally passenger ships, and were adapted to hospital uses later.

The menace of the destroyer—due to the seaworthiness which this type has now achieved, and to the great range which the torpedo has acquired—has brought about the necessity of providing external protection to the battleships; and this is supplied by a " screen " of destroyers and other light craft, whose duty is to keep enemy destroyers and (so far as is practicable) the submarines, at a safe distance.

We now see why a fleet must be composed of various types of vessels. At the present moment, the battleship is the primary, or paramount type, the others secondary, because the battleship is the type that can exert the most force,

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stand the hardest punishment, steam the farthest in all kinds of weather, and in general, serve her country the best.

Of course, "battleship" is merely a name, and some think not a very good name, to indicate a ship that can take the part in battle that used to be taken by the "ship of the line." The reason for its primacy is fundamental: its displacement or total weight—the same reason that assured the primacy of the ship of the line. For displacement rules the waves; if "Britannia rules the waves," it is simply because Britannia has more displacement than any other Power.

The fleet needs to have a means of knowing where the enemy is, how many ships he has, what is their character, the direction in which they are steaming, and their speed. To accomplish this purpose, "scouts" are needed—fast ships, that can steam far in all kinds of weather, and send wireless messages across great distances. So far as their scout duties go, such vessels need no guns whatever, and no torpedoes; but because the enemy will see the scout as soon as the scout sees the enemy, and because the enemy will try to drive away the scout by gun and torpedo fire, the scouts must be armed. And this necessity is reinforced by the necessity of driving off an enemy's scouts. In foreign navies the need for getting information in defiance of an enemy's attempts to prevent it, and to drive off the armed scouts of an enemy, has been one of the prime reasons for developing "battle cruisers," that combine the speed of the destroyer with the long steaming radius of the battleship, a battery almost as strong, and a very considerable protection by armor.

The aeroplane and the airship are recent accessions to the list of fighting craft. Their rôle in naval warfare cannot yet be defined, because the machines themselves have not yet reached an advanced stage of development, and their probable performance cannot be forecast. There is no doubt, however, in the minds of naval men that the rôle of air craft is to be important and distinguished.

BRADLEY A. FISKE.

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PROHIBITION

BY L. AMES BROWN

FOREWORD.—*Of all the problems bearing directly upon the social welfare of the people of the United States none surely is more vital and none probably is so inadequately comprehended as that which is involved in the abolition or regulation of traffic in intoxicating beverages. It is not, as many suppose, a mere question of prevention of drunkenness and elimination of attendant evils. Its phases are multifarious, comprising not only the practicability of remedies proposed by Prohibitionists, Anti-Saloon Leagues and Model-License Associations, but also National and State revenues, relationship to political parties and Constitutional inhibitions, discrimination between distilled liquors and comparatively harmless light wines and beers as affecting the public health, and many others which must be considered in the light of experience and common sense if a solution of the whole problem is to be found and applied successfully. In an endeavor to promote helpful discussion which may lead to rational determination* THE REVIEW *will publish, during the forthcoming year, articles from those authorized or best qualified to set forth the merits of the various proposals which have been advanced. As a preliminary to the presentation of these special contributions, we print herewith the first of a series embodying the conclusions respecting actual conditions and results of experimentation deduced from painstaking study and inquiry by Mr. L. Ames Brown, whose compressed summary of his inferences recently published by the "Atlantic Monthly" attracted widespread attention. He deals first, in natural order, with Prohibition.*—THE EDITOR.

THE altered circumstances in which the people of the United States are forced to go about their public and private business since the breaking out of the war in Europe has left a very discernible stamp upon the country's "composite thought." The war has upset many of the new ideas that were gaining prestige in this Republic under the advocacy of Mr. Bryan and men of his imaginative turn of mind, and, to resort to a meaningful phrase of our own making, it has

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steadied us down. Consider some of the changes it has wrought. It has done away with talk of permanent peace in this century and convinced most of us of the criminal unwisdom of failure to be prepared for war; it has caused us to be more careful as to how we spend our money; it has sharpened the suspicions of some of us as to the faulty foundation of certain proposed reforms, and has caused others who were inclined to a more partisan attitude to decide to take a second look; it has developed a tendency toward contentment with laws of established consistency with the fundamentals of our Government in preference to those of the new fangled stripe which require a very considerable measure of blind faith in the swallowing. In general, the war may be said to have created in the American people a wholesome disposition to examine more carefully and critically into the merits of all proposals of domestic policy.

Bare facts, it may be prophesied, therefore, will have a better chance for coping successfully with sentimental propagandas in the next elections than has been given in what Mr. Taft recently remarked upon as "the late era of radicalism." So soon after being compelled to resign several rosy imaginings as to the possibilities of the immediate future, the voters may be looked to to display more stubbornness in demanding actual evidence as to the suitability and usefulness of the shiny new lamps offered in exchange for the old and tested ones. Such a state of mind certainly will produce a need for plenteous and convincing statistics from the advocates of national prohibition, if they are to expect advancement for their propaganda in the next few years. Appeals for the inspiration of a new virility in the Nation through the Constitutional inhibition of the manufacture, importation and sale of alcoholic drinks will be met with the questions, put with inexorable seriousness: What has prohibition actually accomplished in the States where it has been tried out? To what extent has it abated drinking, and the crimes and diseases growing out of it, and poverty? Has it really "made good"? On the answers to these questions will depend more and more vitally the extent of the progress to be made by the prohibition movement.

The questions are fair ones. Sooner or later, every new idea which has been established in the institutions of the civilized world has had to accept trial in the light of its History as well as of its Hope, and its ultimate place has been

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determined by this judgment. It cannot be imagined that the prohibitionists will object to a test upon this basis, for their arguments traditionally are based upon the thought that the end justifies the means, that the evils of drinking justify any governmental step designed to prevent them; and surely it is sound logic to apply to their propaganda the test whether the ends which have been attained justify the means which have been adopted and now are advocated anew. It would seem, therefore, that a study of the history of prohibition in the United States, with the sole conscious aim of producing informative results, should be welcomed by both parties to the prohibition controversy, and especially by the great mass of voters who have not yet permitted themselves to be enrolled as partisans.

The prohibition movement was an outgrowth of the temperance crusades of the first half of the nineteenth century. Hard drinking was almost the rule among the Fathers of the Republic. The per capita consumption of spirits in the early days was many times what it is now, and beer drinking was almost unknown. After the War of 1812, there grew up in the New England States a large commerce in West Indian rum, which was consumed extensively, especially in Maine, supplementing the consumption of heavy liquors which were manufactured in those States. Maine alone, in 1827, when her population was 360,000, manufactured 1,333,160 gallons of liquor, and it was sold at retail in nearly every store and tavern. Drunkenness in its worst form, involving disastrous social consequences, was widespread. Sufficient evidence of it was to be found in the number of persons in the jails and poorhouses.

The movement to reform these conditions received an early impetus from the publication, in 1815, of Dr. Benjamin Rush's book, *An Inquiry into the Effects of Ardent Spirits upon the Human Body and Mind.* Dr. Rush had been chairman of the Committee on Independence in the Continental Congress of 1776. He was a physician of note, and his book was an authoritative disclosure of the harmful physiological effects of distilled spirits. A later commentator said of it: "Although confined in its denunciation to distilled spirits, it is not surpassed in earnestness and power by anything that has been written since." Before this book was published, Hon. Samuel Dexter, a former Secretary of War and

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of the Treasury, as President of the Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance, had issued in 1814 a pamphlet declaring that the rural population was consuming four times as much spirits as it had consumed twenty years before. Rev. Lyman Beecher already had attracted attention by his vigorous temperance sermons, some of which were published as temperance tracts.

Taking Dr. Rush's book and early subsequent publications as the basis of their propaganda, many learned and vigorous citizens of the original States began the dissemination of arguments first against the use of heavy liquors and later against the use of alcoholic drinks of any kind. Rev. Justin Edwards, D. D., was an outstanding worker in the movement for temperance reform, and he was the leading spirit in the organization of the American Temperance Society in 1815. Benjamin Franklin, we are told, General Putnam, Dr. Belknap, and others supported Dr. Rush in his temperance work. In 1826 the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance was organized to advocate total abstinence, and the *National Philanthropist* was launched in Boston to spread this propaganda. By 1835, a commentator tells us, "More than 8,000 temperance societies had been formed; more than 4,000 distilleries had been stopped; more than 200,000 persons had ceased to use any kind of intoxicating liquor; about 2,000,000 had ceased to use distilled liquors, 1,500,000 of whom were enrolled members of the temperance societies." About this time the Washington Society of pledge takers was formed. It had great success in prevailing upon drinkers to take the pledge, but it was severely criticized by the advocates of prohibition when they appeared, because, to quote ex-Senator Blair of New Hampshire, "unfortunately many of its most zealous and active promoters discouraged all resort to the enactment or enforcement of laws against the traffic." Some of the men who are singled out for distinction by the historians of the early temperance movement are President Day of Yale College, Rev. Samuel Worcester, Vice-President Henry Wilson, John B. Goff and Charles Jewett, M. D. The temperance movement in this period was in large measure religious, and clergymen, not politicians, were pre-eminent among its workers.

This was the era of so-called moral suasion. An early writer tells us that "churches and denominational associa-

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tions, medical bodies, military organizations, public meetings, almost every form of effort united to endorse these and similar expressions of sentiment [referring to the expressions of temperance societies] in all parts of the country; a mighty movement based on moral suasion filled the land for the removal of the evils of intoxication from society." Ex-Senator Blair, in his history of the temperance movement, explains the transition from the temperance movement to that for State prohibition as one from moral suasion to legal suasion. "The public sentiment which resulted from this discussion," says he, "naturally sought to apply the doctrine of total abstinence through the form of law. The people began to move for the repeal of license laws and for legislation having for its object the outlawry of the liquor traffic." In 1837, the General Conference of the Free Baptist Church adopted a resolution in reference to the liquor traffic, pronouncing the judgment that "our lawgivers should by the enactment of just laws protect the community from this baneful and merciless traffic." Massachusetts made an essay in regulatory legislation in 1838, when the so-called "fifteen-gallon law" was passed.

Neal Dow, born in 1804, in Portland, Maine, the son of a Quaker tanner, crystallized the "legal suasion" movement, and by his co-workers is accredited with conceiving the idea of State prohibition. Dow began his career as an agitator of the liquor issue in politics in Portland, about 1830, when he insisted that the city authorities had the right to refuse to license liquor dealers, and that they ought to do so. His campaign for municipal action did not succeed until 1843, but in the meantime he had launched his propaganda for action by the State Legislature.

The first demand for the enactment of a State prohibition law was made upon the Legislature by the Maine Temperance Union in a memorial presented by General James Appleton, a friend of Dow's, in 1837. The Legislature did not act. Dow's friends declared that the day of his success was postponed by the Washington Movement, which practiced moral suasion, but objected to legislation. In 1843, the Maine leader printed and circulated petitions to the Legislature for a prohibition law, and appeared personally in the Hall of Representatives to argue for such an enactment. From that time on, he was a zealous propagandist, displaying indefatigable energy, a wide acquaintance with the people

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of his State and their prejudices, and in many ways evidencing a consummate knowledge of politics as the game was played in his time. He traveled from end to end of the State time and time again, perfecting temperance organizations for the acknowledged purpose of exerting an influence upon the Legislature, making the prohibition question an issue in all elections of whatever importance. A petition signed by about 40,000 persons was presented by Dow to the Legislature in 1846, and, as a result of the pressure then brought to bear, a bill abolishing the license system but lacking the demanded forcefulness was passed. Small penalties were provided for violations, and the law was evaded by easy subterfuges. A bill somewhat strengthening this enactment was passed in 1849.

Dow was elected Mayor of Portland in 1851, thus attaining prestige second only to that of Governor of the State. In that year, with the new assurance which had resulted from his political triumph in Portland, he appeared in the Hall of the House of Representatives, and, after speaking for an hour and a half, as we are told, " in his usual style of acute reasoning, strong sense and impassioned eloquence," presented the stringent prohibition law which he had drawn. Despite the resentment of some conservative members of the Legislature at what they termed the high-handed manner in which Dow practically had ordered the enactment of his law, his influence was sufficient to secure the passage of his measure, the " Maine Law," within three days after it was taken up, a pace which was recognized at the time as being too rapid for judicious legislation.

The Mayor of Portland then set about enforcing the law in his own municipality. His methods were spectacular; he personally directed the first seizure of liquor after the law became operative, and took occasion to let it be known in every way possible that he was making the crusade against liquor his chief business. His manner of enforcing the law, his political successes, and the wide advertisement of what his friends termed his persecution by opponents of the prohibition cause, established for him a reputation in other States where the agitation had been taken up. He was frequently sought as a speaker throughout New England and the Eastern States. Expensive gifts of silverware were presented to him by citizens in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York. A contemporary declared that he " would rather

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go down to posterity with Neal Dow's reputation than be any other man who lives or has lived in this country, the magnificent Father of this Country not excepted." A writer in publications issued by the Maine Statistical Society, an organization which promoted the acceptance of the Maine law in all States where prohibition was considered, said: "That he could command a strong vote in all the Northern States, were he nominated to the Vice-Presidency of the country, can scarcely be doubted." Thus Dow became the chief prohibition agitator in the country, and his handiwork, the Maine law, became the model of those States which decided to adopt prohibition. The agitation was taken up in practically every State in the Union. Note how the people responded to the promise that prohibition would cure the drink evil.

Vermont adopted a prohibition law in 1852, and it was ratified by the people. In the same year, Oregon adopted prohibition; the people of the territory of Minnesota approved a law which later was declared unconstitutional, as did the people of Massachusetts; a restrictive law was passed in Mississippi, and Texas adopted a law which prohibited the sale of more than one quart of liquor to any one person. In 1853 Rhode Island adopted a law which later was pronounced unconstitutional, and the people of Michigan confirmed a law which later was declared unconstitutional. In 1854 the Maryland House of Delegates adopted a prohibition law, but it was defeated in the Senate, while the Maine Liquor Law Party elected all of its candidates in the City of Baltimore; the Wisconsin Legislature passed a law which was vetoed by the Governor, and Connecticut and Delaware adopted prohibition.

Then came the triumphant year 1855. Iowa passed prohibition, and the law was confirmed by the people; Massachusetts altered her earlier enactment so as to meet the requirements of the State Constitution; Michigan did likewise; the Territory of Nebraska was given a prohibition law by its first Legislature which met in that year; New Hampshire entered the prohibition column; in New York Myron H. Clark, after a bitter campaign, was elected Governor over Horatio Seymour in a prohibition victory, and the Legislature passed a prohibition law July 4; Pennsylvania adopted a prohibition law, although it was not stringent in its provisions; Governor Reeder of Kansas recommended the en-

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actment of prohibition to the Assembly of Kansas; the New Jersey House of Assembly adopted a prohibition law which was defeated in the Senate; Illinois passed a prohibition law for submission to the people, who rejected it; even Utah had municipal prohibition in its chief settlement, Salt Lake City.

The sojourn of most of these States in the prohibition column was brief. New Hampshire, it is true, did not repeal her law until 1903, nor Michigan until 1875, and Connecticut did not give up hope of making prohibition a success until 1872, but the other States, with the exception of Maine and Vermont, all resorted to other methods of restraining the use of liquor by 1870. Indeed, several of the States did not make even a serious attempt to enforce their laws. Nebraska and Illinois permitted the law to remain upon their statute books only one year. New York, Delaware and Indiana repealed within two years. The States which really tried to make their laws effective were Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island and Michigan.

It appears that not much time was required to disillusion the temperance advocates of New England as to the effectiveness of prohibition as a means of reducing drinking. Senator Blair, who became one of the chief figures of the prohibition movement, and who introduced the first prohibition resolution in the Senate of the United States, made the failure of State prohibition a basis for his argument for the larger venture. He said in 1887:

> For half a century, the working life of more than two generations, gigantic efforts have been put forth by noble men and women, by philanthropists, by statesmen and by States, to restrain and destroy the alcoholic evil, through the operations of moral suasion and by State law. . . . But it has failed, as it will always fail so long as we save at the spigot and waste at the bung. . . . It is a waste of time to deal with it (intemperance) only by towns and counties and States.

Dr. Dio Lewis, a prolific publicist of Boston, said in his book, *Prohibition a Failure,* published in 1873:

> The meaning of the recent repudiation of the prohibitory liquor law in Massachusetts, and the same repudiation which is soon to follow in Maine, is not that the voters are less temperance men, or that they are anxious to continue crime and pauperism or pay the enormous taxes which confessedly spring from drink, but it simply

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means, as in repudiating scores of other laws in New England directed against vices, that the people have come to the conclusion that law is not the medicine for this patient.

Dr. Lewis was a temperance worker who went so far as to advise members of churches to shun the Lord's Supper, where fermented wines were used, and he declared that he had lost $20,000 personally through refusing to rent a hotel he owned in Boston except on condition that spirits should not be used in the cooking.

Ernest H. Cherrington, editor of the official publications of the Anti-Saloon League of America, that powerful instrumentality through which the political influence of the prohibition movement of to-day is exerted, concurs in the foregoing opinion. In the official history of the League, Mr. Cherrington says:

During the half century before 1893, eighteen States had adopted either statutory or Constitutional prohibition, with the result that eleven had repealed the law before prohibition had been given even a chance for a fair trial, while the prohibitory laws in the remaining States had been so poorly enforced that they had practically become dead letters, there being no effort whatever in certain States to give any attention to the enforcement of prohibition.

The opinions of these temperance workers as to the failure of the early prohibition movement are vindicated by the facts presented by Government reports regarding the consumption of liquors in the country at large in the period when the movement was spreading like wildfire. In the decade, 1850-1860, wherein the Maine law first was enacted, and thirteen States adopted prohibition either by referendum or legislative vote, the consumption of liquor increased from 94,712,853 gallons to 202,120,007 gallons. The consumption per capita increased in this period of rapid expansion of population from 4.08 gallons to 6.43 gallons; the consumption per capita of wine remained practically at a standstill; that of malt liquors increased from 1.58 gallons to 3.22 gallons; that of distilled spirits increased from 2.24 to 2.86.

In the next decade the consumption per capita increased to 7.70 gallons, and the total consumption to 296,876,931 gallons.

The modern era of prohibition, we are told by the Anti-Saloon League publications, began in 1893, the year in which

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the League itself became active. For several years, however, its record is one of minor successes and defeats for the prohibitionists. South Dakota repealed her prohibition law in 1896, and in 1903 New Hampshire and Vermont retired from the prohibition column, leaving Maine, the only New England State which retained the law of the fifties upon her statute books. The first State-wide victories gained by the newly revived movement were in 1907, when Alabama and Oklahoma adopted prohibition. Two years later Alabama refused to incorporate prohibition in her Constitution. Oklahoma was more steadfast, however, for in 1909 her people did ratify a prohibition amendment. Nineteen hundred and eight saw State-wide victories in North Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi. The movement was retarded in 1910 by the rejection of Constitutional amendments in Florida and Oregon; Texas rejected an amendment in 1911, and Alabama repealed her law in that year, and another rejection was voted in Arkansas in 1912. Thus five discouraging defeats intervened between the Southern successes in 1908, and the next State victory, which was in West Virginia in 1912. The prohibitionists were successful in five of the elections in 1914: Arizona, Colorado, Oregon, Virginia and Washington voting favorably, while California and Ohio rejected amendments. In the present year, Alabama and Arkansas have adopted statutory prohibition, Iowa has enacted legislation, which it is claimed will have the effect of returning that State to the prohibition column, and South Carolina has voted for Constitutional prohibition. Prohibition laws are operative in nine States, and six others will be added to this list January 1, 1916. I do not include Tennessee, because liquor taxes amounting to more than $500,000 were collected in that State in 1913, under what was described as a prohibition law.

Because of the comparatively short time in which the prohibition laws have been operative in most of the States now listed in the prohibition column, it may be difficult to form an accurate judgment as to the effects of the so-called reform. This difficulty is enhanced by the character of some of the literature being disseminated by the prohibitionists. The Anti-Saloon League Year Book, the official handbook of arguments for prohibition agitators, which is published at a considerable expense and has a wide circulation, presumably presents the case for prohibition as favorably as

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the managers of the prohibition organization believe can be done. A review of this publication should afford a fair résumé of the evidence tending to show that prohibition has succeeded. No astuteness in analysis is required for the detection of certain methods resorted to by the editor of this publication for making the prohibition States appear advantageously in his statistical comparisons, which I do not believe are calculated to inspire confidence in any of his conclusions.

The campaign text-book presents in the prohibition tables Georgia, Mississippi and North Carolina, where prohibition was enacted only in 1908; West Virginia, where the law has been operative little more than a year; Tennessee, which should not be classed as a prohibition State; and Kansas, Maine and North Dakota, the only States which have had prohibition laws for any considerable number of years. Comparative statistics for 1909 or 1910 regarding this group and other groups which are presented as having, variously, 25 per cent of territory under license, 50 per cent under license, and more than 75 per cent under license, are given, and so little justification seems to exist for this grouping arrangement, as indicating the relative effects of prohibition and license or local option on the life of a State, that it might be suspected that the scheme was fixed upon as a means of distracting attention from the shortcomings of Maine, the black sheep of the prohibition family. The handbook gives data bearing upon the "Average Number of Wage Earners in 1909," and increase in the ten years preceding, and the "Value of Products in 1909" and the corresponding increases. The figures thus presented, from which conclusions favorable to prohibition are drawn, are for the first year in which prohibition was operative in North Carolina, Mississippi and Alabama, the second year in Georgia, and for a period when West Virginia still remained in the license column. The presented increases, for the most part, were accomplished in a period when these States were under license or local option systems. The statistician solemnly computes that the percentage of increase in number of wage earners in the prohibition States exceeded that of the three other groups by ten, thirteen, and seventeen, respectively, while the increase in value of products exceeded that of the other three groups by 30.7 per cent, 34.1 per cent and 42.6 per cent. He does not comment upon the interest-

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ing comparison between totals. May we observe that in the nine prohibition States, which had a population of 14,685,000 in 1910, the total number of wage earners was 554,280; while in the nine license States, out of a population of 22,293,000, the wage-earning population numbered 2,564,280, and that, while the total value of products in the former group was only $1,416,192,000, that for the license States was $8,080,980,000?

The Anti-Saloon League statisticians made an extensive study last year of the economic aspects of the liquor problem, apparently with the view of ameliorating somewhat the opposition of organized labor to the prohibition movement. The table I have just referred to is the first of a series in which comparisons are made on a number of points where the prohibition States can be made to appear to some slight advantage.

One of these tables shows that there was an increase of 103 per cent in volume of wages paid in prohibition States, as against 61 per cent in the license States. The increases, it may be noted, were from a total of $109,000,000 to $221,000,000 in the prohibition States, and from $852,000,000 to $1,373,889,000 in the license States. Other tables show that while 21 per cent of the wages and salaries paid by the industries in the prohibition States go to officials and 79 per cent to labor, in the license States, 36 per cent goes to officials and only 64 per cent to labor; that, while the raw material used by all the industries of the United States comprises 58.7 per cent of the manufactured value, only 23 per cent of the value of liquors is represented by raw materials. The Year Book then presents a set of tables which, it states, "disprove the claim that prohibition of the liquor traffic injures business or that it frightens capital away from the prohibition States." It is shown that in the prohibition group, the total capital invested in manufactures in 1899, $463,573,000, increased to $1,220,010,000 by 1909, an increase of 163.2 per cent; in the license States the total in 1899, $3,955,842,000, increased to *only* $7,439,685,000, in 1909, an increase of less than 87 per cent. The tables show, although attention is not directed to the fact by footnote, that, while the population of the nine license States exceeded that of the nine prohibition States by less than 50 per cent, the total capital invested in manufactures in the former States exceeded that in the prohibition States by approximately 600 per cent.

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Statistics under the caption, "Crime and the Liquor Problem," continue the same groupings, but, even with the newly converted States lined up in the favored column, the showing made is not as satisfying as was the case in respect of the economic aspects of the liquor problem. For example, a table is given showing the number of prisoners for each 100,000 of population in the different groups of States for 1910. It is found that the total number of prisoners in the prohibition States was 18,228 out of a population of 14,685,000, and in the license States 29,041 out of a population of 22,000,000; and that for each 100,000 of population there were 124 prisoners in the prohibition States and 130 in the license States, the number in the two intermediate groups being somewhat smaller than in the prohibition States. Further on we are informed that the average number of paupers for each 100,000 of population was 46.5 for the prohibition States, and 127.7 for the license States, the latter number differing only by a fraction from the number for Maine. Still another table discloses that 75 per cent of the children of school age in the prohibition States were enrolled in schools, while in the license States only 68.8 per cent were enrolled; that 38.4 per cent of persons from 15 to 20 years old were attending school in the prohibition States, while only 26.6 per cent were enrolled in the license States.

These tables aroused my curiosity for several reasons. In the first place, the statistician omitted for some reason best known to himself the seasoned prohibition State of North Dakota. Examining table 25, page 1132 of the census bulletin on School Attendance, I found that of the 183,336 persons from six to twenty years of age in North Dakota, only 117,453 were enrolled in schools. The percentage, therefore, had it been calculated by the statistician, would have been presented in the scholastic table as 64.1, eleven points lower than the percentage for the prohibition group and nearly five points lower than that for the license group. Another matter which excites my curiosity in regard to this table of the Year Book is the source of the information upon which it is compiled and how the percentages favorable to prohibition are computed. For instance, with respect to Kansas, in the census bulletin on School Attendance I notice that in 1909 the total number of children from six to twenty years of age was 515,166, some 12,934 *in excess* of the number given in the Anti-Saloon League tables, while the total enroll-

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ment was 378,000, some 20,000 *fewer* than the number listed by the Anti-Saloon League. It is evident that had the statistician employed the figures of the Government, his conclusions in regard to school attendance might be altered.

The closing tables set forth that there were 118.8 insane persons for each 100,000 of population in the prohibition group, while the number was 276.6 for the license group; and that for every 100 families there were 468 persons in the prohibition group, and only 454 persons in the license group.

A look beneath the surface of the Anti-Saloon League statistics indicated that they had little value as discovering to us the effects of prohibition upon the group of States in which the law now is operative, because of the comparatively short time that the States have been under its influence. It was apparent that, if West Virginia or North Carolina or any of the prohibition States seemed to outrank certain of the license States in respect of definite statistical comparisons, the advantage could not properly be attributed to the influence of prohibition only one or two years after the law became operative. How much more sensible and valuable it would be, from the standpoint of the principles of conservative judgment, to study the effect of prohibition in Maine, Kansas and North Dakota, the only States having prohibition in which the laws have been tested for twenty years or more.

Prohibition has been a farce in Maine for a number of years. It is the renegade of the prohibition family, and all statistical compilations by prohibitionists must cover up the shortcomings of Maine, in order to make a creditable showing for the entire group of prohibition States. Maine was the first State to enact prohibition, but it has appeared that she will be the last to enforce it. This State since 1851 has been engaged in what might be termed a continuous series of flirtations with prohibition. Since 1837, when a petition for prohibitory legislation was presented to the Maine legislature, there has been constant bickering between the prohibitionists and the anti-prohibitionists. In the elections, the liquor issue has obscured every other, and the result has been that the State has not been influenced materially in any way by the laws upon its statute books, save that it has lacked the annual revenues which the other States were collecting from the manufacture and sale of liquors, and that

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the people have continued their consumption of ardent spirits instead of following the example of most of their countrymen who have turned annually to a larger consumption of beer or other lighter alcoholic drinks. President Wilson very probably had Maine in mind when he observed that whenever the social and moral issues involved in the liquor problem had been made the subject matter of party contest, "they have cut the lines of party organization and party action athwart, to the utter confusion of political action in every other field."

Soon after Neal Dow's law was put upon the statute books, there developed a well-supported opposition to the measure among the better portion of the population as well as the foreign quota. One of these opponents was Governor Wells, elected in 1856. The prohibition law of 1855, strengthening the original enactment, was repealed in his administration before it had been a year in operation. The repeal was followed by a period of indiscriminate sales and of offensive practices by the retailers, which gave abundant material for a new prohibition campaign. In 1858 another law went into effect, with the notable change that the prohibition did not extend to cider and the sale and manufacture of wine from fruit grown in the State. This alteration gave the prohibitionists the support of the farmers, a very necessary accession. The consumption of beer in Maine at that time was a comparatively small item, so there was no demand for the exemption of beer, as for that of hard cider, which we are informed is "notoriously capable of producing more intricate, prolonged and devastating drunks than even whiskey itself." By 1867 the unlicensed sale of liquors had become so extensive that a special State constabulary to enforce the prohibition law was created. This proved effective only in suppressing the more open forms of illegal selling. Governor Chamberlain in 1870, Governor Perham in 1872, and Governor Dingley in 1875 set forth in their annual messages that the prohibition law was virtually nullified by laxity of enforcement. It was shortly after the administrations of these governors that an amendment was voted into the State Constitution which not only exempted cider to appease the rural vote, but even exempted whiskey, gin, brandy, ale, porter, wine and cocktails as obtainable from the State liquor selling agency "for the use of invalids."

Enforcement of the law did not improve after the adop-

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tion of the Constitutional amendment, however. Because the law lacked the support of public opinion, illegal sales and public drunkenness continued to increase. Governor Burleigh said in 1891, five years after prohibition was made an article of the State Constitution, "It cannot be denied that the law for the suppression of the liquor traffic is often violated, and that officials charged with its enforcement are frequently derelict in duty." This was putting it mildly. The law was openly flouted. Luxurious bars were operated in all the large cities, the only recognition of the prohibition law being a transparent attempt to keep these saloons out of sight from the open streets. The State authorities, charged with enforcing the law, systematically defied it, making periodical arrests which resulted in the imposition of fines about equivalent to license taxes.

Records of the number of commitments to jail for intoxication and illegal selling of liquor furnish impressive evidence as to the farcical character of prohibition in recent years. In 1898, 6,425 persons were committed to Maine jails, of whom 2,967 were committed for intoxication and 178 for illegal selling. The figures for subsequent years follow:

	Total commitments	For intoxication	For illegal selling
1899	6,182	2,901	200
1900	5,427	3,259	180
1901	5,270	2,851	298
1902	5,297	3,193	234
1903	4,608	2,364	346
1904	5,681	2,642	281
1905	5,412	3,035	571

The jail commitments for intoxication are merely a partial record of the amount of public drunkenness in these years, for in the small communities only the most obstreperous street drunkards who made nuisances of themselves were arrested, while thousands of intoxicated persons were assisted to their homes by acquaintances or even local authorities.

Governor Cobb in his annual message in 1905 recognized the farcical aspect of the law when he said:

> Has the law been enforced? Every intelligent citizen knows that it has not. The estimation in which the prohibitory law is held in some sections of our States and by many of our citizens is working incalculable injury to the forces that make for law and order.

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A disrespect for all law is nurtured, which if allowed to grow unchecked will weaken and destroy the very foundations of good government.

In that year the Legislature enacted the Sturgis law creating a State Enforcement Commission, which was permitted to send deputies to all parts of the State to search for and destroy liquors. These deputies seized thousands of gallons of liquors and rummaged hundreds of homes and other buildings, but the chief result of their efforts was to drive illegal sales into more unwholesome nooks and corners without any important diminution in the number of sales. Note how the dismal record of public drunkenness continues:

	Total commitments	For intoxication	For illegal selling
1906.....	4,483	1,980	429
1907.....	5,769	2,934	441
1908.....	6,646	3,609	707

One of the chief reasons for this steady increase under the Sturgis law was that, under the more open violations that had been tolerated previously, a greater proportion of ale, beer, and light wines had been sold. The bulk of these beverages prevented their being handled to advantage surreptitiously under the more stringent enforcement of the law, and it resulted that larger quantities of ardent spirits, oftentimes of poorer quality, were consumed. The quantity of liquors now vended by the Maine bootleggers were for the most part manufactured from the worst and most poisonous varieties of alcohol. Epitomizing the effect of prohibition on public intoxication, it may be observed that arrests for drunkenness in Maine averaged 25.5 per 1,000 population, as against 18.5 for all the other New England States.

Prohibition in Maine has not retarded the number of divorces granted for intoxication. According to census reports from 1867 to 1886, the total number of divorces was 8,412, while in the subsequent twenty years the total was increased to 14,194. Of this number, 3,624 are attributed to intemperance as a direct or indirect cause. Senator Charles F. Johnston declared in 1912 that "the majority do not now and never have wanted enforcement of the prohibition law." The Constitutional amendment was re-submitted to a popular vote in 1912. Regarding the outcome of this

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election, Hon. C. W. Davis, Secretary of State of Maine, said:

In the September election, in one of the most strenuous campaigns the State has ever witnessed, a campaign in which the friends of the prohibition law mustered to their aid the most influential platform orators the nation could produce, a campaign in which the churches were organized, their pulpits turned into political forums, in which the children were organized and equipped with campaign songs, in which a publicity fund estimated at approximately $200,000, with every one of the 520 towns supplied with oral and written arguments, and with but little work on the part of the opposition, the prohibitory law which went into the constitution in 1884 by a majority of 45,000 was retained by a paltry 758 votes. Even this slender margin was in doubt for many days, as the first returns, known as the Secretary of State's returns, gave the result as 60,487 for repeal and 60,461 for retaining the law; a majority of 26 for repeal. The final returns of municipal officers made to the Governor and Council, after the corrections and changes, placed the official vote as follows: 60,095 for repeal and 60,853 for retention of the law.

The result of this election, if it proves anything, proves that the electorate of Maine were honestly wide apart in their views as to the value of the law. Eight of the sixteen counties in the State voted against the law, and the cities by a majority of 10,000 voted against it. With the population in character and growth but slightly changed, 60,095 voted against the law as compared with the 23,413 who voted against it in 1884.

Prohibition must be regarded as a failure in Maine up to the present time. The State authorities now in power declare they are enforcing the law, and this may be true. It does not affect the validity of the statement that Maine in the decades since Neal Dow secured the enactment of the Maine law has been the pre-eminent example of the truth of President Wilson's observation that "Government is merely an attempt to express the average conscience of everybody," and that, if the Government is going faster than the public conscience, it soon will have to "pull up." The Government did "pull up" in Maine, but until to-day the people of the State have insisted upon retaining a law which does not represent their "average conscience."

Here is an excerpt from the speech delivered by Representative Underwood of Alabama, majority leader of the last House of Representatives, during the debate on the Hobson resolution, December, 1914:

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It is contended that prohibition produces temperance where it is on the statute books, but I find on an examination of the bulletins issued by the Bureau of the Census that the improved conditions which we may naturally expect to find in the lives of men who practice real temperance are not found to predominate in the States where prohibition laws have been on the statute books for many years, as compared to those where liquor is sold under a license system or where temperance laws are controlled by the sentiment of the local communities.

Mr. Underwood's speech probably was the most statesmanlike utterance of the prohibition debate. He singled out Kansas, where prohibition has been operative practically since the admission of that State to the Union, and, throughout a comprehensive examination of the census statistics, compared it with license and local option States. Let us summarize the facts he adduced.

Twenty-seven States in which liquor is sold lawfully have a divorce rate lower than that of Kansas, while only thirteen license States have a higher divorce rate than Kansas. More divorces were granted in Kansas on account of drunkenness of the husband in the period between 1887 and 1906 than in any one of twenty-five States in which liquor was sold under license. The average death rate by violence, exclusive of suicide, was lower for cities investigated in twenty-nine license States, according to 1911 data, than in Kansas cities, and in only three license States was it higher. The average death rate from suicide was higher in Kansas than in twenty of the States investigated and lower than eleven. The annual report of the Comptroller of the Currency showed that the annual savings of individual depositors in Kansas was lower than in twenty-seven license States and higher than in nine license States; only four prohibition States could claim a higher average than Kansas. Thirty-eight States in which liquor was sold lawfully had a higher percentage of church members than Kansas.

The Merchants and Manufacturers Association of Omaha employed a statistician in 1909 to make a comparative study of the material development of Kansas and the adjoining State, Nebraska, in the period 1880-1909, in which Kansas had prohibition and Nebraska a license system. This investigation is frankly designed to show that prohibition has been a " blight " upon Kansas, " which has all but stopped immigration into the State; has caused a de-

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crease of population; has caused a decline in land values as compared with those of other States; has checked the accumulation of wealth; has been highly injurious to retail business; has crippled the productive resources of the State," but some of its data of unimpeachable authority are very interesting.

The pamphlet issued by the Merchants and Manufacturers Association shows that whereas the corn crop of Kansas more than doubled that of Nebraska in 1880, the crop of Nebraska exceeded that of Kansas in value by more than $19,000,000 in 1908. From 1880 to 1900 the value of farm property in Kansas increased 175 per cent, while that of Nebraska increased 385 per cent. Despite a considerable advantage in extent of population, Kansas had in 1907 only $110,476,000 in national bank assets, while the Nebraska banks' assets totaled $132,909,000. In 1880 the per capita indebtedness of Kansas was $15.97 and that of Nebraska $15.66. Ten years later the per capita indebtedness of Kansas was $28.49 and that of Nebraska was $14.62, while that of the United States was $18.16.

As shedding light upon the view that under prohibition "the money theretofore spent in drink goes into legitimate industry and is used to build up material wealth," these facts are put forward: Kansas added 1,686 factories to her industries in the decade 1880-1890, with an increase in products of $79,376,000; while Nebraska added 1,611 factories, with an increase in value of products of $81,400,000. The increase in Kansas was 250 per cent and that in Nebraska 637 per cent.

I quote the following from a letter I received September 17 from A. J. Fowler, Deputy Comptroller of the Currency:

> The latest compiled returns from all banks in the country are for June 30, 1914, and are from 26,723 banks, with aggregate deposits of $18,519,022,130. The population of the continental United States on that date was 99,111,000, making the average per capita deposit $186.85. The population, total, and average deposits in the States of Kansas and North Dakota are as follows:

	Population	Total Deposits	Average Deposit
Kansas	1,827,000	$166,290,198	$91.02
North Dakota	705,000	82,502,599	117.02

I believe that prohibition has been enforced more effectively in North Dakota than in any other State. North Dakota is comparatively small, having only 705,000 popu-

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lation and no large cities. The sentiment of the people there is more nearly abreast of the prohibition statute than in any other State, and it results that North Dakota stands in a very favorable light alongside the other prohibition States in respect of the statistics showing the harmful effects of drinking.

The census bulletin on insanity shows that only 628 insane were enumerated in hospitals in 1910 in North Dakota, while for the other prohibition States the numbers were: Kansas, 2,912; Maine, 1,258; Mississippi, 1,978; Alabama, 2,039; North Carolina, 2,522; Georgia, 3,132. Of the total number of insane in these States, only three were victims of alcoholic psychosis when admitted to hospitals, while in the other prohibition States the number was as follows: Georgia, 57; Kansas, 70; Maine, 33; Alabama, 86; Mississippi, 16; North Carolina, 35. The most recent mortality statistics compiled by the Government do not comprise those for North Dakota, because that State is not listed in the registration area regularly investigated by the Bureau of the Census.

The census report on religious bodies, issued in 1910, shows that in 1906 there were 1,993 religious organizations in North Dakota, having a total number of members or communicants amounting to 159,053, out of a population of 570,000.

From the census bulletin on pauperism, we learn that January 1, 1910, North Dakota had only 81 paupers enumerated in almshouses, while Kansas had 735 and Maine 945, and the number for the country as a whole was 84,198.

From the census report on prisoners and juvenile delinquents, we learn that of 367 prisoners enumerated in North Dakota in 1910 only 10 were committed for drunkenness and disorderly conduct, while 80 were committed for violating the liquor law. In Kansas 28 were committed to prison for drunkenness and disorderly conduct and 72 for violating the liquor law.

The number of persons imprisoned for drunkenness in North Dakota compares very favorably with 2,732 in Massachusetts, 2,121 in New York, 1,059 in Pennsylvania, 1,098 in Illinois, 233 in Virginia, 237 in Kentucky. Less than 3 per cent. of the prisoners in North Dakota were committed for drunkenness and disorderly conduct, while the number in Maine was as high as 30 per cent. The recent compre-

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hensive investigation of the Government into the causes of divorce showed that of the 2,545 divorces granted to women in North Dakota in the period from 1887 to 1906, 987, or 38 per cent., were attributed to drunkenness or to intemperance, as a direct or indirect cause, while the percentage for the country as a whole was only 26 per cent. The number of divorces in North Dakota was comparatively small, however, alongside of the 20,360 granted in Kansas, 10,390 in Maine, 5,642 in Georgia, 9,714 in Alabama, 20,217 in Tennessee.

The rural population of North Dakota comprised nearly 90 per cent. of the total population of the State in 1910, and this fact, of course, has tended to facilitate the enforcement of the prohibition law. Practically no opportunity has been given in North Dakota for us to study the problem of the enforcement of prohibition laws in the big cities.

Having concluded our discussion of the obtainable evidence as to the achievements of prohibition in regard to the social and economic welfare of the States in which it has been adopted, let us make an inquiry as to the actual effects upon the quantity of liquor consumed since 1893, when, we are told, the modern era of prohibition began. A compilation by the Department of Commerce of the consumption of domestic and imported liquors since 1850 affords adequate data as to the drinking which has been done by the country as a whole.

In 1893 the consumption of wines and liquors in the United States was 1,207,365,215 gallons, a per capita consumption of 18.20 gallons. The per capita consumption of malt liquors, which had been only 1.58 in 1850, had increased to 16.19 gallons in 1893. The consumption of wines had increased only .21 gallon and the consumption of so-called ardent spirits had decreased from 2.24 in 1850 to 1.52. The records since that time show only a slight variation in the per capita consumption of distilled spirits. At times the quantity has fallen as low as 1.01, in 1896, and it has gone as high as 1.58, in 1907. But in 1913 it was 1.50, only .02 gallon less than that at the outset of what was heralded as the second era of prohibition. The consumption of wines showed an inconspicuous steady increase in this period, with a few exceptional low and high years, while the consumption of malt liquors ascended unimpeded to a point un-

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dreamed of in the fifties. The per capita consumption of malt liquors was 1.58 in 1850, at the outset of the first prohibition era; in 1893, when the second prohibition era began, the quantity had reached 16.19. There was a slight decrease for three or four years, and it was not indeed until 1902 that the per capita consumption exceeded that of 1893. From 1902 on, however, until 1909 there was a steady increase, the quantity in 1908 being 20.26. The following year there was a decrease of one gallon per capita, but this was nullified by the subsequent increases, and in 1914 the quantity was 20.51 gallons.

A preliminary summary of the annual report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915, disclosed an almost startling decrease in the consumption of liquors. There was a decrease of 14,983,333 gallons of ardent spirits and 6,358,744 barrels of fermented liquors. The Anti-Saloon League official publications immediately laid claim to the credit for this decrease on behalf of the prohibition movement. These publications computed that the per capita consumption in the fiscal year 1915 was 20.53 gallons, which was the lowest since 1905. Without undue disparagement of the claims of the prohibitionists, however, I may state the opinion that a considerable proportion of the decrease should be attributed to the wave of economy that spread over the country a year ago. Supporting this view, it may be mentioned that the country, according to the same internal revenue report, consumed nearly 680,000,000 fewer cigars than in the previous year.

The prohibitionists explain that while the per capita consumption has gone on increasing, the "rate of increase" has diminished. The reasoning behind this explanation, which is almost abstruse enough to be applied to a problem in the Fourth Dimension, is stated thus:

> In 1870 the per capita consumption of all intoxicating liquors in the United States was 7.7 gallons; in 1890 the per capita consumption was 15.53 gallons, showing an increase during the twenty years of a little more than 100 per cent. For the twenty years following 1890, or from 1890 to 1910, the per capita consumption increased from 15.53 to 21.86, or not quite 41 per cent.

The apologist goes on:

> The proportionate population living under the direct influence of the liquor traffic in 1890 was decreased 33 1-3 per cent during the

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twenty years following 1890, while the consumption of intoxicating liquors for 1910 was 30 per cent less than it would have been in 1910 had the same rate of increase continued for the twenty years following 1890 as for the twenty years preceding 1890.

An explanation of the consumption data should take into account also the fact that, distinct from the prohibition movement, there has been developing steadily in the United States in the last two decades a strong temperance movement. Thousands of men are leaving off drinking as a means of increasing their efficiency, who are indicating little interest in the idea of forcing abstinence upon their fellows.

Not many of the speakers who base their utterances upon the Year Book attempt to cope with the intricacies of this highly illuminating mathematical exploit. On the other hand, anyone who has watched the operation of the prohibition law in any one of the prohibition States knows it to be a fact that large quantities of liquors, ardent liquors for the most part, are shipped into the so-called "dry" territory from adjoining license States. This fact is not open to question, despite the failure of the Federal Departments to furnish any statistical data as to the quantities which actually do pass into prohibition territory. In every State which adopts prohibition there is a large minority of the population which is opposed to it, and this minority immediately resort to the mail order houses to obtain its supply. South Carolina in September forced prohibition upon Charlestown and Columbia, her two chief cities. Of course this means that in a very short time the liquor dealers of Florida and Ohio will be getting a large share of the business that formerly went to the dispensaries in those cities.

The Federal Government never has investigated the commerce between States, but some tangible evidence regarding the persistence of drinking is furnished by a table I have compiled from the records of the Bureau of Internal Revenue as to the number of special taxpayers listed as "Retail liquor dealers" and "Wholesale liquor dealers." The number includes all druggists licensed to sell liquors, and a distinction is made between dealers in malt liquors alone and dealers in both malt and ardent liquors. The result of the compilation was surprising to me. The number since 1908, when North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi adopted prohibition, is a large one. In 1914, after five years of prohibition, 1,711 retailers and 86 wholesalers of

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liquors paid the Federal tax in Georgia. More than 1,000 tax receipts were issued in Maine, and the number in Oklahoma and Alabama was almost as large. In all of the prohibition States the number was sufficiently large to amaze even men who cherished few illusions about the effectiveness of prohibition laws. The compilation I have made is an impressive criterion of the laxity of the State authorities of the prohibition States regarding the enforcement of the prohibition law. While the identity of the persons holding liquor tax receipts in prohibition States is not regularly made public by the Bureau of Internal Revenue, this information (in " Record 10 " of each collector of internal revenue) is available to the State authorities upon application, and the fact that so many liquor selling agencies have been permitted to continue their operations in prohibition States is attributable simply to the failure of the State authorities to avail themselves of an accessible source of information as to the violations of the State laws. North Dakota, North Carolina and Oklahoma make the payment of the Federal tax prima facie evidence of violation of the State law. The opposite table presents the result of my research among the Internal Revenue Bureau's records. I have omitted Tennessee from the table, not because of any paucity of licenses issued by the Federal Government, but because the State Government itself levied liquor imposts, deriving more than half a million dollars in revenue from this source in 1913, and evidence of the fact of consumption in that State seemed unnecessary.

Another compilation from the Bureau of Internal Revenue's records of illicit distilleries discovered in prohibition States sheds further light upon the question as to whether prohibition has succeeded in materially restraining the consumption of liquor. Commissioners of Internal Revenue almost annually in the past seven years have commented in their reports upon the extent of the increase in illicit distilling in prohibition States which resulted from prohibition. The present Commissioner, Mr. Osborn of North Carolina, said in his most recent report: " Bootlegging is principally carried on in the States operating under prohibition laws and appears to be one of the hardest problems the revenue officers are called upon to face." The table opposite speaks for itself.

Does not this table indicate a parallel between the " mod-

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LIQUOR TAX RECEIPTS ISSUED IN PROHIBITION STATES TO RETAIL AND WHOLESALE DEALERS IN "MODERN ERA OF PROHIBITION"

		1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912-1913	1914
Alabama	R	2,144	2,140	1,753	1,734	1,092	1,317	766	747
	W	160	168	160	118	55	74	168	130
Georgia	R	1,818	1,634	2,998	2,612	1,837	2,009	1,610	1,711
	W	131	162	209	123	83	112	104	86
Kansas	R	4,019	3,220	3,217	2,392	1,106	819	766	515
	W	147	129	114	82	38	27	28	13
Maine	R	599	826	824	1,163	1,032	1,233	1,381	1,045
	W	26	37	42	51	48	71	70	53
Mississippi	R	607	580	496	647	871	694	415	406
	W	49	62	62	29	20	26	19	18
North Carolina	R	1,001	1,144	1,114	1,548	1,202	1,337	728	266
	W	64	77	71	62	38	35	5	2
North Dakota	R	1,582	1,905	1,567	1,830	1,470	1,014	761	487
	W	74	71	39	65	40	15	10	10
Oklahoma	R	1,278	1,150	1,999	1,688	1,764	1,781	1,050	845
	W	160	126	132	60	78	83	55	41

ILLICIT DISTILLING—PROHIBITION STATES

	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912*	1913	1914
Alabama	179	103	153	231	266	375	321	320	308
Georgia	373	274	294	623	708	901	714	813	802
Mississippi	2	..	..	1	3	..	5	4	2
North Carolina	460	408	363	374	378	440	486	446	535
Oklahoma	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	1	..
Tennessee	54	46	57	71	49	114	161	194	249

* Figures for 1912 and thereafter are for "illicit distilleries reported for seizure" instead of for those actually destroyed.

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ern" and the earlier era of prohibition which, Dr. Eliot observed, "had some unlooked for effects upon public respect for courts, judicial procedure, oaths and law, legislatures and public servants"?

Adequate data are not available upon which an opinion may be formed as to the relative merits of local option and State-wide prohibition. There are many reasons for believing that prohibition in the smaller voting unit, which does not undertake to force the will of the rural majority upon the population of the large cities, has been incomparably more efficient than that which places a whole State under prohibition law by a single election. The local option experience of Illinois furnishes subject-matter for a favorable advertisement of this method of attaining prohibition. One by one, townships, villages and cities have followed each other into the dry classification until nearly half of the population now lives in dry territory. Fifty-one counties are in the no-license column. No county which has voted dry since 1907, when the State local option law was passed, has returned to the license system. Prohibition laws in Illinois apparently have kept pace with prohibition sentiment in that State, and the results speak well for the reasonable conservatism of the people there. Much the same conditions prevail in the local option States of New England. It is very probably true that, to the fact that in Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, and Alabama more than 50 per cent. of the population lived under a no-license system, as a result of local option elections, prior to January 1, 1914, should be attributed a larger measure of the recent falling off of liquor consumption than is due to the prohibition laws of Kansas, North Dakota, Maine, North Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, and West Virginia. State-wide prohibition laws, it has been found, have not been effective in the large centers of population which opposed it when the prohibition elections were held. Apparently the only difference between conditions in the prohibition and the local option States is that a pretense is made of enforcing the law where it is opposed in the prohibition States, while no such pretense is made in the local option States.

Certain definite conclusions are justifiable from the data

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which have been presented in the preceding sections of this article as bearing upon the question whether prohibition has demonstrated its efficiency in either of the two periods of our national history in which a considerable number of the States have turned to it as a panacea for the evils of drunkenness. We have noted the conclusions of the temperance workers themselves that the first essay, that which began with the enactment of the Maine law, was a failure. We have reviewed the presentation of the case for prohibition in the later era, marked by the accession of the South to the prohibition column, and have noted certain evidences of a lack of scientific care in the preparation of the official arguments which seem to cast doubt upon their value. We have noted further in this connection several facts which stand out from the very tables presented by the Anti-Saloon League, which indicate that the so-called "wet" States are not without some material advantages over the "dry" States. An examination has been made of the available data as to the effect of prohibition upon the States of Maine, Kansas, and North Dakota, the only States now having prohibition which have tested the usefulness and workability of the law for a period of twenty years or more. This examination resulted in the conviction that, because of the laxity of the law officers in Maine, no improvements were noticeable which we might attribute directly to the enactment of the prohibition law, and that, with respect to Kansas and North Dakota, there appeared no adequate grounds for stating that prohibition had produced the new virility and the material prosperity which its proponents claimed for it. Finally, we have presented statistics from the various Government departments which seem to indicate that while there was some reduction in the consumption of liquor in the prohibition States attributable to prohibition, yet the traffic in liquors has continued in surprisingly large quantities because of the laxity of State authorities and the increase in illicit distilling.

One general conclusion seems unavoidable in the light of the evidence thus adduced. It is that State prohibition never has prohibited, nor has it restrained the use of liquor to a degree that a sound basis of evolution may be said to have been made for the operation of national prohibition.

L. Ames Brown.

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SUFFRAGE AND A WOMAN'S CENTENARY

BY IDA HUSTED HARPER

THROUGHOUT the United States during these Autumn months will be celebrated the centennial birthday of one of America's greatest women—Elizabeth Cady Stanton. She was born in the historic village of Johnstown, N. Y., November 12, 1815, at a time when her father, Judge Daniel Cady, had just been elected to Congress. "Perhaps the excitement of a political campaign in which my mother took the deepest interest may have given me the strong desire I have always felt to participate in the rights and duties of government," she says in her delightful *Reminiscences*.

Elizabeth Cady was born a rebel. Her first recollection was of hearing the neighbors say about a new baby sister: "What a pity it's another girl!" And so she rebelled against being a girl. She rebelled because of the severe restrictions that were placed on children in those early days. She was in constant rebellion against the hampering clothes put on little girls, and because they were forbidden to share in the sports of boys. Later she rebelled bitterly against the gloomy teachings of Calvinism which prevailed in her Presbyterian home. She was in such a state of revolution when her brothers went to college that her parents sent her to Emma Willard's noted seminary at Troy, then the only institution for the advanced education of girls. When she read in her father's law books the terribly unjust laws for women, she planned to cut them all out, and learning of it he said: "That would do no good; when you are grown up you must go to Albany, tell the legislators all you have seen and heard in this office of the sufferings of women under these laws, and persuade them to pass new and better ones." He little thought that he was sounding then the keynote of his daughter's life.

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It is seldom considered how young Mrs. Stanton was when she poured out her rebellious soul in that famous Declaration of Principles and set of Resolutions, the Woman's Bill of Rights. She was only thirty-two years old when in the well-ordered home of Mary Jane McClintock, at Waterloo, in Western New York, one lovely Sunday morning, that Magna Charta was written. Lucretia Mott and her sister, Martha C. Wright, of Auburn, were there, attending the Friends' Yearly Meeting, and they counseled together while Mrs. Stanton drafted their ideas and her own into those memorable words. Three days later, July 19 and 20, 1848, the meeting they had called—the first Woman's Rights Convention—assembled in Seneca Falls, N. Y., then Mrs. Stanton's home.[1] The Declaration set forth in unmistakable language the inferior and unjust position of woman in State, church, law and society and the Resolutions demanded complete redress. All were adopted unanimously (except the one for the elective franchise), and they were signed by one hundred men and women.

This action seemed prophetic, for now all these demands have been so extensively granted as to make their universal acceptance eventually certain, while the progress for the suffrage has been very slow and the battle is still at its height. Mrs. Stanton never ceased her work for the fulfillment of every demand,—that for the franchise above all others,—but in her closing years, when she was very desirous of discussing political issues, her last rebellion was against the constant admonition of her beloved friend, Susan B. Anthony, not to do so and make enemies to the cause of which she was the great exponent. "Must I forever sit on the gate post and sing 'suffrage, suffrage,'" she would say, "when there are so many vital things I long to talk about?" Her long and splendid life was finished a few weeks before her eighty-seventh birthday, October 26, 1902.

The imperishable monument to Mrs. Stanton and all who have worked for the freedom of women is the steady progress along every line which their life touches, until now, when the one-hundredth birthday anniversaries of all the pioneers are near, the end of the contest is in sight. This would have been reached through the gradual process of human evolution, even if no voice had been lifted, no hand

[1] *History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. 1, p. 63.

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stretched out, if no brave souls had struggled and sacrificed for it, but it would have required many generations instead of the short span of almost a single life.

In that first Declaration of Woman's Rights, which was modeled after the Declaration of Independence, with Man in general substituted for King George, and Woman for colonists, occur these indictments:

> He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the franchise.
>
> He has compelled her to submit to laws in the formation of which she had no choice.
>
> He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law civilly dead; has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.
>
> He has made her morally an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity provided they be done in the presence of her husband. . . . The law gives him power to deprive her of her liberty and to administer chastisement.
>
> He has so framed the laws of divorce . . . as to give all power into his hands.
>
> He has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.
>
> He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her.
>
> He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow she receives only a scanty remuneration. He closes against her all avenues of wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law she is not known.

There were more of these indictments, which gave a true statement of the inferior and unjust position of women in the middle of the last century, and the resolutions adopted at this historic convention declared a revolution. It was needed in countless directions. In 1851 Miss Anthony and Lucy Stone met in the home of Mrs. Stanton to confer with Horace Greeley on admitting women to the New York People's College, then about to be organized. This was afterwards merged in Cornell University, with complete coeducation. Two years later—1853—found Mrs. Stanton at a temperance convention, and Miss Anthony at a teachers' convention, declaring the right of women to speak from the public platform. The following year they were demanding that whenever women were on trial in the courts there should be women in the jury box. That same year, in the first address ever presented by a woman to a Legisla-

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ture, Mrs. Stanton appealed to that of New York for the mother's equal guardianship of her children. In 1868 the two were making the fight through their paper, *The Revolution,* for an eight-hour day and equal pay for women.

Mrs. Stanton was a strenuous advocate of reform in woman's dress, insisting that there must be freedom of body as well as of mind and soul, which was impossible with the heavy, unsanitary clothing of early days. She made various experiments before adopting the loose, comfortable costume, open at the throat, which she wore to the end of her days. She welcomed the advent of the bicycle and the bicycle dress, and she rejoiced when women began to participate in the outdoor sports of men.

At the time of Mrs. Stanton's birth in 1815 it was considered unnecessary to educate girls beyond a little home instruction, but fifteen or twenty years later they were sent from the most progressive families to the few boarding schools in existence. She herself had this opportunity, and she made constant demand for the higher education of women until she saw it answered in the opening of Vassar in 1865, the first of the important women's colleges, where later she sent her own daughters. Soon afterwards the State Universities began opening their doors to women, and long before the close of the century the question of facilities for the education of women equal to those for men was forever settled. The result has been another answer to the demands of that first Woman's Rights Convention in the entrance of women by the thousands into all the professions and into countless positions of trust and profit, but as yet their chances are not equal to those of men, for various reasons, social, economic, political. The process of adjustment has been and will be slow, but it is gradually advancing.

Coincident with the beginning of evolution along many lines was that of the laws, which held women in absolute subjection. The wife, as declared in that immortal document of 1848, was "civilly dead," recognized only after she became a widow by the law which gave her a life interest in one-third of the husband's real estate, if he had any. She was unable to own property of any kind, to transact business, to sue or to testify in court, to have the wages she might earn, to exercise any legal control over her children or to retain them in case of divorce, though she might be the innocent party. No stronger appeals for human freedom were

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ever made than those of Elizabeth Cady Stanton for the release of wives from this legal slavery. The first link in the chain was broken when, in the very year of her famous convention, New York by special statute enabled wives to hold property. She lived to see such statutes in effect in almost every State and the wife's standing in court the same as the husband's; the wife able to transact business and control her wages in over three-fourths of them; the unjust "dower" law abolished in more than half; divorce laws generally equalized and favorable to giving the children to the mother; and equal guardianship in more than a dozen States. In a few States the laws are still very unjust to women; in many there is some discrimination against them, but on the whole they justify the optimistic belief that ultimately they will be adjusted on a basis of equity to both men and women.

The industrial revolution in the life of women has probably been the most radical and complete, as it has carried millions out from the restricted boundaries of the home into the world. The households into which Elizabeth Cady Stanton and her contemporaries were born were factories which made almost every article used in the daily life of the family, and the woman of that day was master of scores of occupations. The industries which were gathered under that one roof are now scattered among hundreds of manufactures, and the women have followed their work. Partly as the result of this exodus and the organization of domestic labor outside the home there began the co-operation of households in apartments for the well-to-do and tenements for the poor, vastly lessening the tasks of housekeeping. The ultimate results of this tremendous industrial revolution among women cannot be estimated. Out of it is being developed a new type —the business woman—rising from the ranks of employees and assuming financial responsibility. The new regime has brought still another class into existence—those freed from the former demands of domestic life and without the necessity for self-support. Their energy and capacity have found an outlet in clubs and societies whose membership extends into millions, and the scope of these is boundless. The ability of women for organization and for conducting great meetings has been an amazing revelation. Mrs. Stanton herself was one of the founders of the largest association of women in existence, the International Council.

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Equally notable has been the social revolution in the life of women. Not in any respect was she more closely restricted than in social customs and requirements. Elizabeth Cady is quoted as saying in the nursery: "I wonder why everything we like to do is a sin? I'm so tired of that everlasting 'no, no, no!'" Finally her sister and she decided to do as they liked and take the consequences, a plan which she followed all her life. Existence for woman used to be a continuous succession of "Thou shalt nots," and it was long after the middle of the last century before any release from the social conventions was permitted. These have gradually dropped out of sight, however, as more and more women have emerged from seclusion into publicity, until now in personal and social life they are almost as unrestricted as men.

Reviewing, then, the century that has passed since Elizabeth Cady Stanton was born, we find a continuous record of revolutions in the status of woman: in the church; in greater athletic freedom; in education—a most essential requisite of progress; in the law, and in the industrial world.

It was inevitable that along with all these evolutionary processes should come political revolution. This was not the end but the beginning, for that first Woman's Rights Convention declared in its resolutions: "It is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise." Mrs. Stanton and her eminent contemporaries contended always that the suffrage was the basic right, and, though they demanded and worked for all the others, they insisted that these would be far more speedily obtained if women had the influence of the franchise. There are sufficient reasons why this most important of revolutions should have been the last to succeed—foremost of these is the fact that it is the only one which required the consent of a majority of men. Had this been necessary with the others, most of them would still be in the future. Another very strong reason is because it has met with far more opposition than all the other reforms combined.

The only fitting tribute which can be paid to Elizabeth Cady Stanton is to commemorate this centennial year of her birth by such victories for the cause to which she devoted over fifty years of her life as will assure its universal triumph in the near future.

Ida Husted Harper.

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WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH RAILWAY REGULATION?

BY SAMUEL O. DUNN

By passing the Hepburn Act in 1906, the National Government began an effective policy of railway regulation. The main provision of that act authorized the Interstate Commerce Commission to fix maximum reasonable rates. This was intended both to abolish unfair discrimination and to secure the reduction of excessive rates.

The latter purpose, in the opinion of many, was as important as the former. The Hepburn Act and also the later Mann-Elkins Act were framed accordingly. While they empowered the commission to reduce rates and suspend advances, they did not authorize it to advance rates or to interfere with reductions. The Sherman anti-trust law and the anti-pooling provision of the Interstate Commerce Act, both intended to prevent the railways from combining to raise rates, were left in effect; and the Hepburn Act was followed by a flood of State legislation requiring reductions in rates. The intention of the public that regulation should get it lower rates was clear.

The new policy did not cause as great reductions as its advocates hoped nor as its opponents feared. Yet in 1914 and 1915 the Interstate Commerce Commission rendered decisions which seem to mark a reversal of that policy. In the "Five per cent case" it authorized the eastern railways to make general advances in their rates. The western railways also are asking for advances in interstate rates, some of which the commission has granted; and all the carriers are seeking authority to raise their State rates.

The public viewed the policy adopted in 1906 with great expectations. It was anticipated that it would not interfere with the right of the railways to earn reasonable profits, but that it would prevent them from earning excessive profits,

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while securing to the public reasonable rates and satisfactory service. The railway managers were less optimistic. There was danger, they thought, in giving authority to control rates and earnings to public officials, while leaving the responsibility of furnishing railway service, developing railway properties, and finding the necessary capital for these things, to private stockholders and managers.

As regulation has increased, the pessimism of the managers has grown. The rates of the railways have been reduced, they declare, and their expenses and taxes increased, until their profits are vanishing. New construction has been almost stopped, improvements have been curtailed, even necessary expenditures for maintenance cannot be made; and the railway situation has become the chief cause of industrial depression.

Before the panic of 1893 there was a rapid expansion of transportation facilities. In the depression which followed traffic was light, and rates and net earnings were low. The roads were built away ahead of their business. Every mile of line could have handled much more traffic than was available. Therefore, when along in 1899 and 1900, business of all kinds began to "boom" and railway traffic began to grow rapidly, there was no need for large investments to handle the additional traffic. There was less competition than in earlier years, and the tendency of rates was upward. Between 1898 and 1906 extensive labor-saving improvements were introduced in railway plants and operating methods; and, as the advances in wages were small, the increases in expenses were nowhere nearly as large as the increases in earnings. The taxing authorities had only begun to discover the possibilities of railway properties. In short, in the seven or eight years before 1906 every condition favored an advance in gross earnings exceeding in proportion the additions to investment and expenses; and the business was one of strikingly "increasing returns." Roads which before had barely earned their interest and dividends now piled up surpluses. Others which recently had been bankrupt because they could pay neither interest nor dividends now became able to pay both. The investors in the stock of such properties as Union Pacific and Great Northern garnered profits beyond the dreams of avarice.

Meantime, political leaders and the public began to reason that the railways were public service corporations,

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and that the public had special rights in respect to them. They reasoned with the economists that when railway traffic increased and railway rates remained stationary, profits tended to advance; and concluded that when traffic was increasing rates should go down. But rates were tending upward. The conclusion of the public and its leaders was natural. The public ought to share in the increasing prosperity of the railways through reductions in rates and improvements in service; and these results should be gained by regulation.

It was this experience and reasoning which produced the Hepburn Act, started the flood of State legislation, and passed the Mann-Elkins Act authorizing the Interstate Commerce Commission to restrain advances in rates.

Looking back now over the years following 1906 much can be noted which could not be noted before. One of the main reasons why the railway business had been one of rapidly "increasing returns" was that facilities had been built ahead of the business. Within a month after the Hepburn Act went into effect there came a serious "car shortage." The traffic had caught up with the facilities; henceforth it would be necessary to make large new investments to handle additional business. The next year railway employees carried through the first of several successful movements for general advances in wages. The taxing authorities became more active, and railway taxes have since increased enormously. Meantime, there was a panic and depression causing a slowing up of the growth of traffic.

The results of the play of these various forces are shown by the statistics for the two eight-year periods 1898-1906 and 1906-1914. In the first period railway traffic and gross earnings per mile of line increased almost 60 per cent, the average annual railway wage increased only 8 per cent, and taxes per mile increased 42 per cent. In consequence, while property investment per mile increased only 4 per cent, net operating income per mile—what was available to pay a return on investment—increased 48 per cent. In the second period, traffic per mile increased only 23 per cent, while the average annual wage per employee increased 33 per cent and taxes per mile 69 per cent. In consequence, while property investment per mile increased 20 per cent, net operating income per mile decreased 10½ per cent.

Almost simultaneously with the adoption of a policy of

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TREND OF RAILWAY AFFAIRS IN THE LAST TWO EIGHT-YEAR PERIODS

Item	*Amount*			*Amount of Increase*		*Per cent of Increase*	
	1898	1906	1914	1906 over 1898	1914 over 1906	1906 over 1898	1914 over 1906
Passenger-miles per mile of line	72,462	114,529	144,278	42,067	29,749	58.05	25.98
Average rate per passenger-mile	1.973c	2.003c	1.982c	.030	*.021	1.52	*1.05
Ton-miles per mile of line	617,810	982,401	1,176,923	364,591	194,522	59.01	19.80
Average rate per ton-mile	.753c	.748c	.733c	*.005	*.015	*0.66	*2.01
Investment in road and equipment per mile of line	$57,395	$59,624	$71,551	$2,229	$11,927	3.88	20.00
Gross operating revenue per mile operated	$6,755	$10,460	$12,667	$3,705	$2,207	54.85	21.10
Average annual wage per employee	$566	$611	$810	$45	$199	7.95	32.57
Operating expenses per mile operated	$4,430	$6,912	$9,226	$2,482	$2,314	56.03	33.48
Net operating revenue per mile operated	$2,325	$3,548	$3,441	$1,223	*$107	52.60	*3.02
Average taxes per mile operated	$237	$336	$568	$99	$232	41.77	69.05
Average operating income per mile operated	$2,088	$3,212	$2,873	$1,124	*$339	53.83	*10.55
Per cent operating income on property investment	3.64	5.39	3.99	1.75	*1.40	48.08	*25.97

* Decrease.

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regulation predicated on the theory that the railway business was one of increasing returns, it became one of diminishing returns.

The policy of regulation followed did not slow up the growth of traffic. It has not caused all the increase in investment and advances in wages. It has not directly caused the increase in taxes. But it has had its effects. Laws and the orders of commissions, such as those requiring the separation of grade crossings, the installation of block systems, the use of electric headlights, the reduction of hours of labor and the employment of extra men in train crews, have contributed toward the increases in investment and expenses. Other laws and orders have prevented the advances in rates which have been needed to offset the increases in fixed charges and expenses, or have even caused reductions in rates. The application of a policy predicated on the theory of increasing returns to economic conditions tending to cause decreasing returns, has aggravated and intensified the tendency toward decreasing returns. The great fault of our policy of regulation has been that instead of working in the same direction as economic forces, it has antagonized them; and, caught between, railway profits have suffered severely. In 1898 net operating income on property investment was 3.64 per cent; in 1906, 5.39 per cent; in 1913, when total earnings were the largest in history, 4.87 per cent; and in 1914, less than 4 per cent.

The effect produced on railway expansion and general business by the tendency toward declining railway profits has been very marked. While the percentage of net return was increasing there was great activity in the construction of new mileage and the purchase of equipment. Even when credit was yielding owing to the diminution of net returns the managements felt that they must go on with the improvements necessary to enable the existing mileage to handle the traffic offered. Therefore, there has been since 1906 a large increase in the property investment per mile. But there was no reason, when railway net returns were declining, for anybody to build and equip new mileage. Consequently, there has been a great decline in new construction and in the purchase of equipment. The following table shows the new construction and the purchase of equipment in the five calendar years ending with 1914 and in the five years ending with 1906:

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New Construction and Equipment Orders.

	1902-1906	1910-1914	Decrease
New mileage built.....	25,521	14,787	42 p. c.
Freight cars ordered...	1,092,375	736,075	32 p. c.
Locomotives ordered....	22,393	15,884	29 p. c.
Passenger cars ordered.	14,673	15,327	4.5 p. c.*

* Increase.

Is this tendency toward diminishing railway profits likely to continue? There are strong reasons for believing it will unless radical changes are made in regulation. Among these reasons are: First, for some years the net earnings shown have been gained by keeping down maintenance expenses and letting many properties deteriorate. If this deterioration is to be stopped, and that which has occurred is to be repaired, this must be done by expenditures charged either to capital account or to operating expenses. In either case there will be an increase in the demands on earnings. Second, railway employees are still demanding and receiving advances in wages. Third, the authorities continue to make heavy advances in railway taxes, whether earnings increase or not. Fourth, legislatures and commissions continue to impose new requirements which increase fixed charges and operating expenses.

The trouble is not with regulation in itself; and the remedy is not public ownership or a return to unregulated management or cutthroat competition. The trouble is with the particular *policy* of regulation that has been followed; and the remedy is to adopt a policy which will be consistent and fair; which will be predicated on the experience of the railways since 1906 as well as before; and which will be adaptable to any other tendencies or conditions which may develop. The Interstate Commerce Commission has partially recognized this by its decisions in the five per cent rate case. But they apply only to the railways of one section, while railways all over the country are in need of relief; and regulation requires other changes besides that of a mere substitution of sporadic advances in rates sought by the railways for sporadic reductions in rates sought by travelers and shippers. The following is an incomplete statement of the serious faults of our present policy, of the means which should be adopted to correct them, and of the reasons why these means should be adopted:

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(1) Some of the worst shortcomings of the present system result from duplication of effort by the State and Federal Governments. The States regulate rate-making and operation, and some of them, the issuance of securities. Many of them fix rates with the avowed purpose of giving their producers and jobbers advantages in the markets of their State over the producers and jobbers of other States. Such regulation hampers and burdens interstate commerce, and interferes with the regulation of interstate rates by the Interstate Commerce Commission. It was such an effort by the Texas commission to give Texas shippers an advantage in the markets of that State over the shippers of Louisiana which was condemned by the Interstate Commerce Commission and the United States Supreme Court in the Shreveport case; yet the State commissions do not desist from this practice.

In numerous States two cents a mile was made the maximum legal passenger fare, and the railways reduced their interstate fares also to this basis. The Interstate Commerce Commission indicated in the five per cent case that these fares were too low, and the railways have therefore raised many interstate fares; but, as long as the lower State fares remain, the higher interstate fares will be largely nugatory and there will be a discrimination against interstate commerce.

In their regulation of operation the States impose numerous burdens, such as requirements for high power headlights and extra men in train crews, without any evidence that they ought to be imposed, and in the face of evidence that they ought not to be. The Interstate Commerce Commission by refraining from imposing similar burdens, and from recommending that Congress do so, tacitly condemns the action of the States. But it does nothing, and perhaps has no authority to do anything, to prevent such action. In many cases there is complete duplication of State and interstate regulation.

These duplications, inconsistencies, conflicts and injustices of regulation, growing out of its exercise by a multiplicity of authorities between whom there is a great deal of petty political rivalry, and no co-ordination or co-operation, are interfering with the free movement and development of commerce. They are making rates unfairly discriminatory and unremunerative, and causing millions of dollars of un-

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necessary expense to both the public and the railways. There should be legislation by Congress empowering the Interstate Commerce Commission to control all State action which directly or remotely burdens interstate commerce.

(2) There is an inconsistency in federal regulation itself which does harm. The Sherman anti-trust law and the anti-pooling provision of the act to regulate commerce deal with the railways as if they should actively compete with each other. All other federal provisions deal with them as if they should be a regulated monopoly. The main purpose of legislation prohibiting combinations in restraint of trade is to prevent prices or rates from being made unreasonably high. Legislation to accomplish this purpose with respect to railway rates has been rendered unnecessary by the provisions empowering the Interstate Commerce Commission to reduce unreasonable rates, and to prevent unreasonable advances, whether made by one road or any number of roads.

But while such legislation as applied to railways is superfluous, it is not nugatory. Regulation causes the charges of competing lines usually to be made the same; but it does not prevent the law-enforced competition from causing the granting of many unduly low, and, unfairly discriminatory, rates to large shippers. Furthermore, as things are, equality of rates by competing lines is a prolific cause of wastes and discriminations in service. The railways in every group vary in their mileages between competitive points, in their physical characteristics, in the accessibility of their lines to large industries, and in their financial positions. When their rates are the same the only means they have for attracting business is service. When they are forbidden by law to make pooling or other similar arrangements regarding the division of traffic or the rendering of train service there is an irresistible temptation for each of them to strive to capture business by increases in, and concessions in respect of, its service. This may appear to be a good thing; but it is not.

It is owing to this fury of competition that our passenger service between large cities all over the country has been so unwarrantably duplicated. Between all large cities several railways run numerous trains on the same schedules. As the trains on the diffierent roads leave and arrive at the same hours they do not promote the public convenience, since the traveler can ride on only one train at one time. As many of the trains are never well loaded the duplication of service

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causes enormous waste. The public would be better served, and the cost of railway operation would be less, if arrangements were made under which through trains would be spaced to leave and arrive at different hours, and under which only the shorter and better lines between any pair of cities would attempt to render fast through service between them, others confining themselves to good local service.

It is likewise owing to fierce competition that many improper concessions in respect of freight service, such as those which the Interstate Commerce Commission criticized in the five per cent case, have been made, with resulting heavy losses to the railways, and glaring discriminations between shippers and communities.

This law-enforced competition should be stopped. We should recognize fully that the railways should be regulated monopolies. The Sherman anti-trust law as it applies to railways and the anti-pooling section of the Interstate Commerce Act, should be repealed, and the railways should be permitted to make such agreements and contracts regarding rates and service as the Interstate Commerce Commission may deem not prejudicial to the public interest.

(3) It should be formally recognized as the duty of the Commission so to deal with rates as to secure to the railways the opportunity to earn reasonable average profits. It should also be recognized that what are reasonable profits is not a question of law, to be settled by the hair-splitting casuistry of the courts regarding a "fair return," but a great problem of business and public policy. That the Commission may solve it in a big way it should be given the same authority and duty to raise rates and prevent reductions in them, when the public welfare requires such action, as to reduce them and prevent advances when such action is needed for the public protection. The public interest also demands action which will expedite the hearing and decision of important rate cases. The present protracted delays cause uncertainty and hesitation in many lines of business; and nothing is more killing to business than such delays.

(4) The Commission having been given authority and a clear mandate to deal with rates as a matter of public policy, it should also be given broader jurisdiction over railway construction, maintenance and operation. The Federal Government, and not the States, the Commission, and not Congress, should decide what requirements shall be made re-

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garding block signals, headlights, steel cars, hours of service of employees, and the sizes of train crews. In some way the Commission's jurisdiction should be extended over the most important item of railway expenses, the wages of employees. The authority which controls earnings should also regulate expenditures to such extent as they are regulated at all. Otherwise, all its efforts to maintain a healthy margin between them may be defeated.

(5) The Commission should be given supervision over the issuance of railway securities. Some of the worst abuses and evils in the railway business have grown out of the unrestricted utterance of securities by boards of directors dominated by men who disregarded equally the rights and interests of investors and of the public. If regulation is to permit increases in net earnings the public has a right to demand that it shall also see that the additional capital which the improvement in the railways' credit will enable them to raise is honestly and efficiently used.

(6) The Interstate Commerce Commission should be reorganized. As now organized and constituted it cannot perform even its present duties satisfactorily. This is not a reflection on its members. It is not given to any seven men to be equal to what they have been trying to do. Various plans of reorganization have been suggested. One is to enlarge the Commission's membership, increase the salaries paid, and lengthen the tenure of office. Another is to have deputy commissioners assigned to districts throughout the country. Another is to create subordinate boards to handle various matters in the first instance, one, rate matters; another, operating matters; another, financial matters; with a right of appeal to the Commission itself. Another is to transfer a part of the Commission's duties to some other body or department. Space forbids an attempt to discuss these plans here, but that something must be done to reorganize the Commission, is clear.

SAMUEL O. DUNN.

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THE HERMIT THRUSH

BY GRACE DENIO LITCHFIELD

Lo, ended now sweet day's brief lease,
Dusk comes, soft shod with silence and with peace.
In the spent west where fades the rose to white,
Foreteller of the nightly miracle of light,
Shine's Dian's star,
Lonely as prophets are,
And exquisite as hope is, seen afar.

The spreading shadows meet and blend,
Are merged in one—
As mingling waters mix and run—
Blot out the lanes they follow,
O'erflow the hillside, fill the hollow
From end to end,
On shimmering lake and blossomed field
Lay their pale grayness like a shield.

Mysteriously still all earth has grown.
A spell is on the hour,
As had it power
To call back memories forgot
Of griefs that have been and are not,
Of fears long flown,
And formless dread of the for aye unknown.
Nor seems it man alone,
Who 'neath the mystic calm doth feel
The rush of fate's inexorable wheel.

In the dim wood such quiet reigns
As elsewhere naught save death attains.
The breeze hath furled his fragrant wings,
And cradled where the aspen swings,
Sleeping, he dreams of many things—
Of sweet-pea blooms in misty June—
Of sun-ripe roses at full noon—
Of lilies, kissed beneath the moon—
And dreaming, shivers,
And the aspen quivers.
The pines, where dappled sunbeams drifted
All day from bough to bough,
Stand drenched in darkness, sombre arms uplifted,
Cold dews upon them now.

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Hushed are the songs that made their day's delight.
Long since the White-Throat whistled his good-night.
No nested note is heard
From any leaf-hid bird,
Nor rustle of a night moth's wing,
Nor stir of smallest living thing.
The stillness deepeneth,
With everywhere a sense
Of something in suspense,
As though the listening forest held its breath
For a yet unspoken word.

Then on the silence falls a fluted sound,
Melodious, full and round,
Flooding the mossy solitudes,
As from the topmost height of clustering firs
The high-priest of the woodland choristers
Outpours his threefold chant of threefold interludes.

Oh, hark! oh, hark!
Across the creeping dark,
Again, again, and yet again
The soaring rapture of his vesper psalm—
His evensong of prayer and praise—
O'erflowing all the dusky ways,
Steeping the night in balm!
Again, again, and yet again!
More liquid than a silver bell—
Sweeter than lay of Philomel—
Life's utmost glory in its lift and swell!
Free from beclouding cares and frets;
Free from vain doubtings, vain regrets;
A burst of joyance with no human taint
Of trustless dread or hopeless plaint—
A heavenly-cadenced melody—
A lyric cry of ecstasy!

Oh, hark! oh, hark!
Through the creeping dark,
Secure in faith, triumphant in desire,
The rich song rises, higher yet and higher
Above the sod,
As though it would a sleeping world commend
To a sleepless God.
Again. Again. And once again.
And so hath end.

GRACE DENIO LITCHFIELD.

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SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF VERLAINE

BY ARTHUR SYMONS

I

It was in the hope of getting a little money for Verlaine that a few of us arranged for him to come over to London and give a lecture in the Hall of Barnard's Inn. The date was fixed for the evening of November 21st, 1893, and he was to come over by the night boat on the 19th, and stay with me in the Temple until he went on to Oxford, where he was to repeat his lecture. Knowing that Verlaine was not to be relied on in any matter requiring action, I had written over, a few days before, to a friend of mine, a young American man of letters who was living in Paris, begging him to see that Verlaine was properly started on his journey. He did not even know him personally, he was busy with journalism, but I knew no one else on whom I could rely, and I made the letter very imploring and peremptory. I got a quaint and humorous reply, which put me quite at my ease. "I find myself," wrote my friend, "the somewhat dazed victim of an obviously fascinating fatality. This instant your urgent letter: this instant I reply 'Yes.' I don't know what you are letting me in for, but you may count on me. . . . Cheque, directions, amulet to conquer the Evil One, I expect by return of post."

The next letter did not reach me till after Verlaine's arrival, but it relates to events earlier than his arrival. It was dated the 20th, and began by a long and minute table of expenses, accounting for the amount of the cheque that I had sent over, and for a little more, which had been spent on a dinner at the Terminus. "The first thing he said to me," the letter goes on, "after the *C'est moi!* of welcome, was: 'I can't go away without leaving thirty francs with

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ma femme.' Madame was then buttoning his coat and tying his plaid tippet, and as she kissed him, she said, 'I need thirty francs while he is away.' A little room as big as a bath-room, with one coal, burning, I am sure, to receive me. I had no alternative to placing the money on the mantelpiece. The next moment we were in the carriage. . . . I was much worried that something might go wrong, the quantities of the problem all being Xs. But suppose he is now in your hands. . . . This morning, however, when I read of the frightful tempest that has blown all night long on the Channel, I had a sensation of choke. Curious fact: in the three hours we spent together Verlaine appealed to me like Jesus Christ and Socrates. I thought of him as a Man of Sorrows, with the Socratic cheerfulness and winningness of spirit behind that ugly mask. He was soft and patient and charming. So I could not bear to think he was being tossed about on the sea unaccompanied by the still more ugly woman whom he seemed to love tenderly. . . . Now my task is done. I did it as well as I could in the short time at my disposal, and I beg leave to thank you for the confident thought which brought to your mind for so special and charming a mission your entirely grateful, . . ." and then came the signature of a letter which I have kept as a precious document, and print so much of it here because it does credit to the writer, and is so significant in the aspect it gives of Verlaine. He was a touchstone, and here is a stranger seen instantly becoming a friend.

On the morning after the 19th a wire reached me from Paris: "By Dieppe, 7.40 London Bridge." I waited till after mid-day, and then wired to London Bridge. I got the answer: "Boat not running to-day." And the lecture, remember, was for the following night! All through the day I waited for another message: none came, and I went out to dinner, giving up all hope for the day. I was too restless to stay at home, and when I got back, late in the night, I found a wire from London Bridge, dated five hours back, saying: "Dieppe train expected London about one midnight." It was after two, and I said to myself: "I am too late, Verlaine will have come, not found me, gone vaguely off into London!" For about half an hour I walked to and fro in despair, in the narrow space between bookcase and window, gazing helplessly down into the court every time I reached the window. At last I could stay indoors no lon-

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ger; my watch marked half-past two; I went downstairs and into the court, and there, in the dusk, moving slowly and with labor across towards the fountain, I saw a vague figure, carrying a tiny bag, and leaning heavily on a stout stick. It was Verlaine.

I have never had such a moment of relief, and Verlaine did not seem in the least surprised to find himself there, at that hour, after his terrible crossing. I took the bag,—which weighed as if it contained (as it did) very little more than the white shirt for the lecture,—and helped him up the many stairs. In a few minutes we were sitting on my sofa, a box of biscuits between us, into which both dipped greedily, and a little gin, which I had bought for his benefit; and we did not stop talking till five in the morning. The talk, as it always was, became intimately, strangely personal: it was as if he had to pour out to me, then and there, the confession of a whole lifetime. I remember the exultant tone in which he spoke of Rimbaud, the unconsoled regret for the wife who had left him (*mais elle était sotte,* he said in parenthesis) and for the son who would not see him. *Mon fils se permet de me juger,* he said, with grave sadness. And he summed up his whole existence in one phrase: *J'ai vecu énormement.* A Petronius happened to be lying in his bedroom; he took it up and put it on the chair by his bedside, saying that it was one of his favorite books.

At nine he was up and dressed, and I heard him knocking at my door. For the few days that he was my guest he was absorbing, and a sort of responsibility; but a guest more charming, or easier to entertain, I never had. Some of my friends came to see him; we lunched and dined at various restaurants with writers, publishers, and others; I drove him about London in a four-wheeler, and he surprised me by his knowledge of the streets; I took him to the Alhambra (which he remembered only too well) and to the tavern where Dowson and Johnson were to be found; and I took him to a doctor. He made many friends, some of whom gave him hospitality after his return from Oxford. I do not think there was anyone whom he did not surprise and delight.

The lecture at Barnard's Inn will never be forgotten by the few people who were there. It was hardly a lecture, it was a talk, mainly about his own poetry and a little about the poetry of his friends, and what was most interesting

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was to hear him read his own poems. He read in a low, agreeable, but indistinct voice, excluding all emphasis, and sometimes hardly giving you the full meaning in his desire to attenuate its directness. He read in the way poetry ought to be read, his own poetry especially, accentuating neither the meaning nor the cadence, but letting both be overheard. It was a great effort to him to sit in the high-backed old oak chair on the little platform, and to read from his manuscript before people of whom he knew so few. When he had finished no one quite knew, so imperceptibly had the reading come to an end; and he sat for a moment, lonely, looking round as if for help. Many people asked to be introduced to him, and in their warmth his content came back to him.

II

For the next three years I heard often from Verlaine, and saw him whenever I was in Paris. Every new book came to me with its signed inscription, and occasionally a manuscript or the proofs of something which was to appear in an English magazine. A little paper called *The Senate* was the readiest to take, not only poems, but prose sketches, some of which, like those on Vacquerie, Dubus, and the Comte de Montesquieu, are still lying uncollected in those forgotten pages. A first proof, set up from Verlaine's handwriting by English printers, was an unforgetable thing; I have a proof of the Vacquerie in its original state, and another, revised with incredible patience, word by word, letter by letter, by the author, who wrote to me: *Elles sont, ces épreuves, tellement consciencieusement corrigées* (*on dirait un dessein impressioniste*) *que je vous serai bien reconnaissant de vous en occuper en vue d'aider un peu ces braves gens d'imprimeurs anglais.* The same letter, and how many others, asks for *le paiement immédiat de l'article,* with the familiar parenthesis: *Car j'ai tant besoin d'argent! C'est aujourd'hui même qu'il faut payer le logement et ça va faire quel trou dans mon budget!* The letter goes on, as many others do: *Toujours au lit, moi, quoique j'aille un peu mieux. Le docteur me promet d'être sur pied dans un mois . . . ou deux. Enfin! à la grâce de Dieu!* In another, in answer to a letter in which I told him that I was sending Mr. Yeats to see him, he wrote: *J'attends votre ami annoncé: il est toujours sur de me voir 187 rue St. Jacques, au 5e. étage tout en haut de l'escalier, en face. Il n'a qu'a frapper*

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à la porte et il verra le valétudinaire que me voici encore, grâce à ma jambe encore une fois impénitente. Hardly a letter tells of better luck, or less cheerfully. In one I find the admirable phrase: *Je suis très gêné, ayant payé mes dettes.*

There is very little talk of other than the business side of literature in Verlaine's letters, but in one of them I find this gay announcement: *Je vous soumets un petit croquis Londonien dont je vous prie d'accepter la dédicace: que n'ai je pu évoquer dans ce " trifle " l'immortelle nuit de mon arrivée et la consommation monstrueuse de biscuits par quoi je célébrai mon entrée dans la vieille Angleterre!* The poem was the *Fountain Court,* afterwards published in *Dédicaces:* I possess no written thing that ever gave me so much pleasure.

But besides the question of money (though no doubt partly dependent on it) there was another absorbing question which had its place in these letters. Most of them give me a new address, and announce either a *brouille* or a return. In the first letter I received from him after his return from London, 13 January, 1894, he writes: *Je suis brouillé avec " Mme. Verlaine " et ne demeure plus rue Broca, mais 187 rue St. Jacques.* On 16 May he writes to me in Paris from *Pavillon Gabrielle, Chambre 2, Hôpital St. Louis, rue Bichat: Je profite d'une visite pour vous faire remettre ce mot à l'hôtel. Je vous prie, ne dites à personne où je suis, ni à Cazals, ni à d'autres. Je suis censément à Versailles. Et à bientôt, n'est-ce-pas? Venez me voir très souvent.* On 10 July he writes to me in English: " I received this morning your letter. I am out of St. Louis and live now rue du Cardinal Lemoine, 48, where I will be very happy to hear from you, often. Mademoiselle Krantz joins with me in the heartiest shakehand." Four days afterwards comes a dictated letter: *Je suis très souffrant, je prie mon ami Cazals de vous écrire que j'habite 4 rue de Vaugirard et non plus 84 rue Cardinal Lemoine où, sous aucun pretexte, je vous prie de ne plus rien m'adresser.* On 27 October I hear: *Me revoici à l'hôpital (hôpl Bichat, 16 salle Jarjavay-boulevard Ney). . . . Ecrivez-moi vite et long.* On 8 November he writes: *Je vous écris ces quelques mots pour vous informer que je suis déménagé, toujours avec Mlle. K., 16 rue St. Victor.* On 24 January, 1895, is a hurried postcard: *Ma nouvelle adresse est 21 rue Monsieur le Prince. Je suis brouillé avec*

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Mlle. K. By 5 March he has returned to his last address: *Ce mot pour vous avertir d'un changement d'adresse. Je demeure actuellement 16 rue St. Victor, avec Mlle. Krantz qui vous envoie bien le bonjour!* Finally, in the last letter I had from him, 21 October, he writes: *Nous avons déménagés: notre adresse est à 39 rue Descartes. Mlle. Krantz vous envoie ses meilleurs souvenirs.* After that I heard nothing more until on January 9, 1896, a telegram came to me from Paris: *Verlaine est mort hier soir.*

I never saw Verlaine more at home than in the pleasant little room which he occupied for some time at the Hôpital St. Louis. I would find him sitting up in bed, with his queer night-cap on, books, newspapers, and manuscript paper lying all over the bedclothes; and he would read out to me, in his indistinct way, the last poem he had written, which he had just copied out neatly in ink, for Eugénie to take to Vanier. And Eugénie would sometimes be there, with her market-woman's basket; attentive and good-humored in the main, it seemed to me, and with much the air of a housekeeper. He spoke to her in a kindly, almost jovial way; they seemed good friends. The contrast was less lamentable than it might have seemed but for this homely element in both, which brought them together as human beings. He said to me once, speaking of her in London: *Je ne suis pas beau; elle n'est pas la Vénus de Milo; elle ne m'aime pas pour ma littérature; mais elle sait que je suis* QUELQU'UN. That respect which the French, even of the lower classes, have for literature, especially for poetry, was evident in her attitude towards him: she knew that he was a great man. What she was for the rest can be seen in *Chansons pour Elle* and the other books in her honor. He said to me once: *Elle n'est pas jolie; c'est une bonne femme; je l'aime, elle m'aime. Nous querrellons, nous becquetons, quelquefois elle me lance une claque à la figure. Elle me traite comme un enfant. Elle me fait pleurer, et j'aime ça,* he added, with a strange smile.

Philomène, Esther, the others, I did not know; I think it was chiefly for Eugénie that those vivid, sordid late poems were written. After his death she wrote me one or two ill-spelt, almost illegible letters, saying: *Au nom de Paul Verlaine votre grand ami, venez-moi en aide.* The letters are frightful in their misery: she has not the money to buy a stamp for the letter, she is ill and the doctor tells her she

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must drink good wine (a detail that I fear had its significance), she would like to eat a cutlet and she has not the money to buy: *ce que vous pouvez faire pour moi Paul Verlaine vous le rendra du haut du ciel.* (I correct her spelling.) Then, in a letter of thanks she tells me that she has sickened ever since *le jour de la mort de ce bon Paul Verlaine.* And she goes on, spelling my name phonetically as she had heard it said in French: *Monsieur Symons, Paul Verlaine vous aimait tant; toujours il me demandait de vous écrire, mais je ne savais pas votre adresse, et pourtant il me l'avait écrite, mais dans ces moments j'avais perdu la mémoire.* A last letter came, from the same fifth floor of 13 rue Valette, dated the 10 January, 1897, the anniversary of Verlaine's funeral, saying: *Je n'ai pas un seul sou, pas même de quoi acheter un bouquet de quelques sous,* for his grave; and she asks if I will not *faire une quête* for her. I did so, but it was of little use. I heard that she died not long after.

III

It was in prison that Verlaine wrote the greater part of *Sagesse,* at a period when that discipline and solitude and reflection had done their work, and he had become a voice for the soul's confession to God of the humility of its helplessness, and a voice for the praise of the divine beauty. No one has ever spoken for the body with more simplicity, or with a more penetrating humanity, than Verlaine in that great sonnet which begins: *La tristesse, la langeur du corps humain.* In such poems as *Les chères mains qui furent miennes* we have a more feverish, a more fantastic transposition of sensation and the mind's coloring of it. It is the voice of the flesh, praying such mad and useless prayers to be delivered, repressed but crying out against the spirit, a voice of bewitching temptations, whose deadly savor of delight could but come out of a consciousness of how delightful that sin was of which one had repented. In such poems as *La mer est plus belle* we have the child's simplicity, which is now half a prayer as well as all a song; and it is a child, frightened and quieted, for whom a solemn lullaby is said in the lines ending: "Silence, silence!" All the agony of the sinner's humiliation before the awfulness of the love of God is chanted, with a sound like the monotonous sound of monks chanting, in the simplest of all the poems: *O mon Dieu, vous m'avez blessé d'amour.* And, in the supreme sonnets, *Mon*

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Dieu m'a dit, in which, if he ever does, Verlaine attains sublimity, we have absolute passion, the soul of one who, as Blake said of Santa Teresa, "guides the great wine-press of love," crying upon God the Trinity with the wild cry: *Etes-vous foú?*

Jadis et Naguère is the only one of Verlaine's books which is made up of work written at various periods; it is an interval in a sequence, a diversion on a pilgrimage. It contains experiments, like the narrative poem, *L'impénitence finale,* which is as fine as *My Last Duchess,* and the comedy, *Les Uns et les Autres,* where shadows out of Watteau pass in a twilight, under his trees, in some delicate entanglement, resolved into music. It contains some of the great things, like that poem of *Crimen Amoris,* full of the sound of gongs and trumpets, where:

Dans un palais, soie et or, dans Ecbatane,
De beaux démons, des Satans adolescent,
Au son d'une musique mahométane
Font litière aux Septs Péchés de leur cinq sens.

And there is the testament of the *Art Poètique,* which puts the whole science of verse into one song.

With the *Amour* of 1888 there begins a final series, not to be interrupted before the end, in which we are to see, as in a drama acted before us, a kind of frank miracle-play of the Middle Ages, the whole conflict of the flesh and the spirit, in which a losing battle seems never to be quite lost. It is from one of the latest of these books, the *Epigrammes* of 1894, that I have chosen a beautiful poem, which I should like to take as the last word of that conflict. That, and not the *Invectives* (published after his death and without his consent), is the true epilogue to Verlaine's great and unhappy life. From the time of *Amour* the books alternate, now *Parallèlment,* the voice of the flesh, now *Liturgies Intimes,* the voice of the spirit; and they go down gradually, stage by stage, to that last stage, *Dans les Limbes.* Literature is all but extinct in this voice that still talks hoarsely when it has almost ceased to be able to sing. *Mais,* he laments:

Mais, helas! je ratiocine
Sur mes fautes et mes douleurs,
Espèce de mauvais Racine
Analysant jusqu' à mes pleurs.

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It is not of Racine that we think in these *Odes* and *Elégies,* written in honor of Eugénie Krantz or another. Villon was never more explicit, and it is Villon who reminds us *que tout les hommes n'ont pas bons sens assis.*

Conduct and belief are two different things, and it must not be supposed that Verlaine's conversion was not genuine because it did not change the whole current of his life. Sincerity of the moment was his fundamental characteristic, but the moments made and re-made his moods in their passing. The religion of *Sagesse* is not the less genuine because that grave and sacred book was followed by the revolt of *Parallèlement,* and *La Bonne Chanson* was at least as sincere as *Odes en son Honneur.* Verlaine was always trying to explain how natural it was to sin and to repent, and to use the same childlike words in the immediate rendering of sin and repentance. This naïveté, which made any regular existence an impossibility, was a part of his nature which gave to his work a quality unlike that of any other poet of his time. At the end of his life hardly anything but the naïveté was left, and the poems become mere outcries and gestures. *J'ai la fureur d'aimer,* he says somewhere, and there is no part of his work which is not the expression of some form of love, human or divine, grotesque or heroic, but always insatiable.

ARTHUR SYMONS.

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HENRY ARTHUR JONES AND THE DRAMATIC RENASCENCE

BY THOMAS H. DICKINSON

THE dramatic renascense is a fact. One can be assured of this without being certain of the final form it may take. A few years ago it seemed probable that naturalism would bring out a great play. The hope is now less confident. Great as have been the achievements of dramatic art during the last few years, we have no play as a result to which we can ascribe an abiding place, unless it be one of the satiric comedies of the most whimsical of Britain's playwrights. Serious photographic naturalism and social-purpose art have brought forth nothing that we can promise immortality, and those plays which carry the traits of these forms to the highest perfection, such as Galsworthy's *Justice*, are the best illustrations of the vital shortcomings of the schools. On the side of reaction from naturalism something has been done. How far Barrie's plays represent absolute achievement critics will be unable to say until they have supplemented the quick judgment of the production by the calmer criticism of the study. In denying his plays to contemporary readers, Barrie is probably protecting them against the superficial judgments of his own day in favor of the more stable valuation of later time. He is also removing from our time instruments of undoubted value for the creating of standards. On the works of one man, Synge, criticism unites in bestowing the expectation of long life. The only disquieting reflection, to the lover of Synge's work, is that the unanimity of its praise may portend a near reaction. It will not be our own time that will bestow immortality on Synge, or the succeeding age that will demolish him. His proper position will hardly be known until the second turn of the tide.

But while the age has brought forth little in fruits no one will question that there has been a substantial renascence.

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If we compare the situation of drama to-day with its situation a generation ago, we find many striking features of its better health. Strange to say, these are more to be seen in the attitude of thinking people toward the stage than in any intrinsic merits of the drama as an art, or the stage as an institution. The changes that have taken place are changes of thinking and social preparation. During the last generation drama has become established as a social institution of great potency and flexibility. Dramatic art has taken its place as an art that needs not to be apologized for; an art that is, indeed, somewhat feared on account of its ready instrumentality in serving a social purpose and expressing a distributed attitude. There have also been some interesting steps in advance for the art of drama. A generation ago literary drama meant poetic drama, and, by this token, unproduced drama. To-day the art of the produced prose play of contemporary life has been accepted without too many reservations in excellent company. Beginning with Matthew Arnold's respectful words, written in *The Nineteenth Century* for 1879—the first respectful words spoken for the modern English drama by an acknowledged critic of our day—the consideration of drama has grown more and more familiar under the pens of the learned. Augustine Birrell, H. D. Traill, W. L. Courtney, Edmund Gosse, Professor Gilbert Murray are but a few of those who have turned from the concerns of the scholar to the consideration of modern drama. Drama has entered the universities of England and America, no longer as a species of elocution, or a debased form of literary teaching, but as an art that is connected structurally and by content with the interests of our day. Moreover, drama is winning acceptance in the sisterhood of the arts. Arthur Symons applies to the play the same delicate criticism that he applies to music and painting. Barrie gives up the novel for the play. Even Meredith and Hardy and James, to mention those of an older generation, tried their hands at dramatic composition, and Arnold Bennett and John Galsworthy of the newer generation, are almost as well known for their plays as for their novels. The fact that the kindly recognition that is coming to drama is based no less on what drama is expected to do than on what has already been performed, quite as much on potential as actual achievements, does not diminish the significance of the standards of respect that have been enforced for an hitherto despised art.

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Results of this kind do not occur accidentally or blindly. For every broad advance that is made individual men may be found who have been heart and soul the prime movers in the advance. The wonder is that for a movement so broad and far reaching the number of men who served as engineers and prophets should have been so small. For England and America one can count on the fingers of one hand the number of men who during the last generation have given their lives to the rehabilitation of an English drama. Many have given as they were able under the press of competing interests, but William Archer and Brander Matthews have always been on the firing line and have slept on their arms. These were the men who saw long ago the certain growth of the functions of the drama in popular government and as an outlet of social dynamics, and, in season and out, stood for uncompromising art values as well as for social health in the theatre. Recognizing the close relationship between the state of society and the state of the art these two men have devoted their lives to educating public taste and to formulating rational opinions. Both have written plays, but it has been as expositors, as school-masters, as guides that they will be remembered. To these, who were active when many who are now reaching for laurels were in their cradles, there must be added as the subject of this study another whose influence and personal contribution have been even more significant. One is reminded of the debt that is owed to Henry Arthur Jones by the recent performance in London of the play that first brought him success and fortune. *The Silver King,* first performed twenty-three years ago, displays in many respects the characteristics of the author as a man and as an artist. In the years which have passed since the first production of this play tremendous strides have been taken in the state of English drama, and many of these are directly or indirectly to be credited to the influence of the author.

Twenty-three years ago the situation of Henry Arthur Jones was not precisely similar to that of either Archer or Matthews. A playwright of abundant popular success in his earliest efforts, he had apparently but to follow the path laid out before him to an assured position. At an early period we find him turning aside from the pleasant task of purveying to an amusement seeking crowd to follow the less thankful pursuit of appealing to an ever narrowing circle of the

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judicious. Not only so. Jones might well have continued to the day of his death to be the artist who permitted his work to "speak for itself." There is for the artist every incentive to do this. It is well known that every line the artist draws outside the frame of the picture, every word he speaks outside the structure of his novel or play is a tempting of fate. But Jones was the first dramatist in England to see the logic of the situation, and to see that in his day the task of the advanced artist of the stage is even more in the direction of the reconstitution of the standards of taste, in a leavening of the general mind to an apprehension of dramatic art values, than in the composition of excellent plays. Indeed, someone had to do the outside work if the inside work was ever to secure proper understanding. No one could do that work as effectively, though, at the same time, it must be said, with as great a personal expense, as the man who practised the art in his own right. In spite of expense to private credit, in spite of misunderstanding, Jones chose the hard and sincere task, and for every step he took on the road of advance he delivered two blows to make that road firmer for his fellows. For such work as Jones has done there is too little reward. The play is the thing, and the man who, instead of limiting himself to composition, devotes his energies to the preparation of an audience for the artist who may follow is likely to find his work neglected in favor of that of the man whose success he made possible. Jones has enough plays to his credit, but it is a question whether his fame as a playwright, by one of the popular ironies which we need not try to justify, has not suffered on account of his activities as a dramatic bush-ranger and path-breaker.

It is no accident that Jones's first, and perhaps greatest, play is a melodrama. *The Silver King* is marked by precisely those qualities that have characterized his career, and the following plays, *The Middleman, Saints and Sinners,* and *The Crusaders,* are as simply conceived and as energetically governed as have been his own campaigns. These plays display both the weakness and the strength of his art, a weakness which has always just kept him from absolute achievement as a playwright, a strength that has made him a most courageous fighter for better standards. As a writer of melodrama Jones saw things substantially, in large chunks, so to speak; he saw things moralistically, and he saw things emotionally. Never subtle, nor, it must be confessed, ever

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particularly acute, he depended upon force rather than finesse, on impression in the mass rather than on intuition or complex analysis. His early absorption in moral and religious questions was characteristic. To him life presented itself as a field of armed camps of good and evil, and the soldiers from the one camp seldom strayed over into the confines of the other. In many respects this is the easiest way by which one can look upon life; it is the only way that leads to fixed judgments; it is the only way that makes one dog-sure of his methods. And Jones was always dog-sure of his methods, and his methods were predicated on morals. Jones's early plays were evangels; and he was an evangelist. And so he has continued to this day, less sure to-day, perhaps, that the world can be saved, but not a whit less sure of the adequacy of his moral standards to cope with all problems, even the problems of art in a democracy.

Such a man could not satisfy himself long with mere playwriting. Even as an artist he always answered to what may be called the *moral* imperative; against his own interest pushing out into new lines of effort, stubbornly seeking out new methods and social and technical fields to conquer, perfecting himself by an insistent determination of taking thought, and applying to each new stage the dynamic courage and heavy determination that are the driving forces of his career. It is this very moral determination for the advance that lays the heavy hand on Jones's art and draws it back at the threshold of absolute excellence. For art plays some cruel and ironic tricks, sometimes alighting joyfully on the work thrown off by an unconscious hand, and eluding the self-perfecting industry of "taking pains."

It is with some sense of irony that we notice that Jones was practically the first to introduce the work of Ibsen to an English audience. He tells us that in 1881 there came to his attention a German form of Ibsen's *A Doll's House*. Recognizing the dramatic effectiveness of the play, Jones adapted it to an English form, giving it the title, after the Scribe formula, *Breaking a Butterfly*. That thirty years ago a young playwright should not have apprehended the real significance of the work of Ibsen is not surprising. Certainly we should not hold it against Jones, for in selecting the play he showed his immediate recognition of the remarkable skill and technique of the unknown Norwegian. But this experience was of a piece with Jones's whole career.

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He has usually been first in the field in the discernment of the new thing, and has paid the price of courageous struggle for its adoption. And then when it has come to pass it has come transmuted to new values, in a form that he does not altogether understand and does not approve. The light of the comic spirit usually plays around the heads of those of serious purpose. There is something of irony, too, in the fact that Jones, who, above all others, has created for us a middle-class English drama, for he is as clearly the creator of the middle-class in English drama as Dumas was the discoverer of the *demi-monde* for French drama, should have devoted his life to attacking that middle-class that he represents in all of his plays. His plays are hewed out of the substance of middle-class England. One might call the roll of Jones's *dramatis personae* without finding a character that displays a distinction differentiating him from this class. This is precisely the reason why Jones's plays have been subject to the immediate and instinctive distrust of the English play-going public. They too effectively hold the mirror up to nature. They foster no illusion whatever. They show British middle-class life to be drab, dull, full of forbidden pockets, pugnacious, and frustrate. The quarrels between Jones and his audiences are like the quarrels in English middle-class homes, explosions of irritability at too much intimacy. Even Jones's daring and pugnacity are absolutely of the British middle-class type. His forceful, religious, dogged moral force has carried him forward in his art and in his propaganda in a lockstep with John Bull's forceful and unimaginative progress in commerce and empire. Jones made the mistake of applying the same principles to his plays that he applied to his public work. Both are forthright, moralistic, undistinguished. And the British public, asking this of the party worker, condemns it in the artist. Jones quotes from Fielding's *Tom Jones,* and applies to himself, the remark that "whenever his readers found him dull they might rest assured it was with some profound purpose." And the British public, which despises to be shown as it is in its plays, answers readily to the profound purpose of the propagandist. And so Jones has never been quite a success in his plays, but he has been altogether a success in his public work. For in its art the British public demands illusion and brilliancy, but in its public work it is more willing to listen to the sermons of a Jones than to the brilliant epigrams of

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a Chesterton, or a Belloc. As Oscar Wilde was a witty and caustic critic of English society they slew him, but as he was in his plays the depictor of an artificial illusion of life they crowned him. As Bernard Shaw tickles their risibilities with his antics they applaud him, but as he lashes them with pungent censure they do not listen or they misunderstand. The grudge that Jones holds against British Puritanism in behalf of his plays should be forgotten in gratitude for the complaisant hearing it has given to his lectures.

Perhaps because he was something of an evangelist Jones refused from the start to see the stage through the eyes of an H. J. Byron or a Sidney Grundy. To him the theatre appeared in another light, as the instrument for a popular campaign. In this view he was but following for the theatre the principles that Ruskin and Morris had held for art. Morris had made the cause of beauty a cause for an appeal to the people, and even Arnold had been touched not a little with the warmth of social issues. Certainly there was some valid reason for treating the theatre in this way, for after all it is a social institution, depending upon the people for its life from day to day, and ministering to the people on their homely spiritual sides. And so the first fruits of Jones's referendum to the people of the problems of the theatre was the establishment of the Playgoers' Club in 1884, an organization for the study and support of good plays, before which Jones delivered the inaugural. The establishment of the Playgoers' Club was not without importance both to Jones and to British drama, for with it there was started that rage of speculation and comment which has made of Jones a crusader and the drama itself a social program. All this depends upon a new theory, a theory much held in our day, that art is dependent upon social support, and that its issues may be served by organization. Art has been taken to the people in the same sense that the infirm and dependent have been laid upon the consciences of the people; the reform of art is asked for in the same way that the reform of judicial procedure is demanded, as things that can be reached by a referendum. For this theory Jones had prepared the way three years before the organization of the Playgoers' Club in a paper on "The Theatre and the Mob." His statement of the obligations of membership in the Playgoers' Club has something of the force of a social creed. "To be a member of this Club implies a devotion to the interests of the Drama

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for its own sake, not as an idle amusement for a vacant hour, but as a serious and fine art, which has for its end the portrayal of all the varying passions of the human heart, and all the chances and changes of our mortal life."

Having put his hand to the plow Jones did not turn back. Since then his life has been devoted to the evangelization of dramatic art. To his thorough belief in the reasonableness of the social propaganda that he has raised, and to his reactions from the manner in which his apostleship has been received, are to be ascribed all the steps in his career. His plays have been, almost without exception, attacks on social abuses, hypocrisy, or Pharisaism. It almost seems as if playwriting had become with him a side issue as compared with the spreading of the gospel of social service through dramatic art. He was one of the first English playwrights to insist that his works should have the advantage of book publication. Publication was common in France and to a lesser degree in Germany. In England it had been limited to belated publication in acting editions, whose only value was for the amateur and professional actor. Jones made appeal to the discriminating judgment of the larger reading public not alone for his own plays but for all plays. The arguments for the publication of plays are well known and need not be rehearsed. Jones stated them in his preface to his publication of *Saints and Sinners* in 1891, and George Bernard Shaw stated them in his preface to the first volume of *Plays Pleasant and Unpleasant.* Whatever may have been the importance of publication to particular plays, there can be no doubt that the growth of the custom of publishing plays has vastly conduced to the respect under which drama is held and to the upbuilding of dramatic taste. The need was not to turn the play-loving public from the theatre to the study, for this would defeat the ends of publication, but to draw a larger share of the reading public into an understanding support of the best things of the theatre. That this has been done, and that thereby there has come to pass something of a reconciliation between English literature and drama no one who knows the conditions can doubt. When plays were found to be worthy of book publication they were found to be worthy also of the consideration of cultivated minds, and of a place in the culture of the nation. To accomplish these ends Jones was willing to sacrifice some of the theatrical attributes of a play in favor of

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its literary attributes. He said: "There is but one way of advancing, or even of holding our own, and that is by making the theatre a national art with a definite literary and intellectual basis, disdainful of all theatrical effect that will not submit to take an auxiliary place."

In addition to inaugurating the custom of publication of plays, Jones learned from his master, Dumas, not to compel a work of art to speak for itself. In the old days it may have been well enough to send a book forth heralded only with an ingratiating letter to a patron. But to-day the work of art that breaks new ground demands the double display boards of the sandwich man or the cap and jingling bells of the jester. Here again the daring of Jones serves a good purpose. Venturing boldly in where others would have been reticent and silent, he defends his own plays in prefaces and broadsides in the magazines. He defends the use of the Bible and religious topics in drama; he defends the play with a moral, and the dramatist who would be forever educating the people. Sometimes he discusses the cost of producing a play, and shows the nightly receipts, convincing the reader by argument and figures that it is not always lack of merit that damns a play: it may be the difference between two hundred and three hundred pounds nightly receipts. He does not scruple at rising to strong and vigorous speech in attack upon that hypocrisy that he holds to be the cardinal sin of English society and the cause of low standards of dramatic art. Once in church he had listened to the rolling aloft of the Psalms of David. He comes away trembling with wrath:

> For those murderers who are chanting the songs of a treacherous murderer, a liar, and an adulterer—a man after God's own heart, as the Scriptures say—a treacherous murderer, a liar, and an adulterer —a royal man for all that,—I say these good worshipers who are so naïvely employed are the same average English playgoers who in the autumn of 1894 arose in a panic of wrathful zeal for the morality of our stage, and in a series of letters to *The Times* overwhelmed for a year or two the rising school of the English drama.

In this passage we have revealed Jones the propagandist, trembling with zeal for a cause, tingling with righteous wrath, with which there is mingled not a little of personal bitterness. He has been so near the seat of war that he has smelled the powder of combat; and his attitude is one of personal repulsion. His essays in *The Nineteenth Century*

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and *The New Review*, and his public addresses, later gathered into two volumes, *The Renascence of the English Drama* and *The Foundations of a National Drama*, are records, not only of the state of English drama during two decades, but also of the temper of an unhappy warrior.

But Jones compels admiration by his indomitable pluck and persistence. Aside from writing for the Reviews Jones has carried his campaign to the public platform, making his plea to two kinds of audiences, the one the audience of workingmen, the Sunday afternoon, or "University Extension" audience of London and the provincial cities; the other the University audience of London and America. His first plea to educated men in behalf of the theatre was made before the students of the City of London College in 1893. Since then he has brought his message to the students of Harvard, and Yale, and Columbia, in America, dwelling always on the implications of drama and education, religion, and social service. Nor has he shrunk from an argumentative skirmish with such men as H. D. Traill, Dr. Pearson, and Gilbert Murray. A catalogue of his topics covers practically all the social aspects of drama. Drama as distinguished from amusement, drama and the mob, drama and education, religion and the theatre, first-night judgments of plays, the national theatre, drama in the provinces, the dangers of the censorship, are treated vigorously if with much repetition. With the intensive study of dramatic art he has no concern. Speculations in technique, the patter of the studio, the concerns of the artist workman, have little interest for him. He remains always the social reformer wielding before him the sword of a militant art. In the preface to *The Renascence of the English Drama* he sums up the things he has been fighting for in the following words:

> 1. I have fought for a recognition of the distinction between the art of the drama on the one hand and popular amusement on the other, and of the greater pleasure to be derived from the art of the drama.
>
> 2. I have fought for the entire freedom of the modern dramatist, for his right to portray all aspects of human life, all passions, all opinions; for freedom of search, freedom of phrase, freedom of treatment.
>
> 3. I have fought for sanity and wholesomeness, for largeness and breadth of view.

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Of Jones, the hater of shams, the attacker of hypocrisy and of Mrs. Grundy, enough has been said. He continues throughout his life to berate the "smug and banal ideals, the ways of living, the forms of religion, the terror and ignorance of art of the English middle-classes." In his art and in his program he is all of a piece. He has the same club for that Mrs. Grundy who drives a truthful dramatist from the theatres that he has for the respectable people who drive a faithful minister from his charge because he lives up to the teaching of his religion. This is the stamp of the man who has by sheer moral force had a tremendous effect upon English dramatic conditions. If we were asked what is the mass effect of Jones's career, we should answer that as exhorter and revivalist he had awakened people of all classes to a new conception of their duties toward the theatre. It is no accident that everything Jones has accomplished has been accomplished through the people; that he has hardly spoken an illuminating word that would be of service to the young artist searching for a mastery of his materials. Musset has written:

> Trying to make things perfect is not new; on the contrary, nothing is older, but nothing is more allowable, lawful, fitting, and beneficial; if we are only able to make perfect matches, that means a service rendered to the whole world, for it is difficult to get a spark from steel and flint. But when it comes to attacking people themselves and trying to make them perfect, oh! oh! it becomes serious.

It is because even in his plays Jones's eye has been upon the man whom he would reform rather than upon the perfectible formulas of the art itself, that at the end one gains from the mass of his work an unfair impression of futility. It is not that he has accomplished little, but that he started out to accomplish tasks beyond the measure of man's mind. Matthew Arnold, in the essay to which we have already referred, had stated the problem of dramatic art in social terms: "We in England have no modern drama at all. . . . Our vast society is not homogeneous enough, not sufficiently united, even any large portion of it, in a common view of life, a common ideal, capable of serving as basis for a modern English drama." This dictum is either true, in which case the task of creating a drama is staggering in its immensity, or it is false. Jones accepts the dictum as true and starts out to correct the social condition. No wonder he has grown weary and dispirited in the fight. Yet he continues

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to this day the large popular appeal for the building of a drama by the correcting of people's hearts. He continues to throw the problem of the artist into the hands of the crowd.

Meanwhile there has grown up, energized largely by Jones's militant idealism, a group of those who believe that Matthew Arnold was wrong, that it is not going to be necessary to remake society in order to create a drama. These men believe that society is not and never was coherent to the extent that it united in one harmonious chorus of approval of high and definite artistic ideals. These believe that what the best requires is only permission to grow in its nook. In the minds of these the evangel should be preached not to the crowd, but to the dramatist; the sanction should be sought, not from society, but from the artist's own imperative standards. For such a view as this Jones has no concern as a preacher, though he has upheld it in his own practise. Courageous himself to his own loss, often standing alone when with his technical gifts it would have been easy to stand with the multitude, he still looks for the hope of drama in a change of attitude by the people. One wonders whether the man himself has not been greater than his program. "It is impossible," he writes in his last book, "to have two opposing national standards of taste in drama." Nay, it is impossible to conceive of there being so few. Who imagines that the work of any great age depended upon a uniformity of taste? Would it not be a craven art that would demand such support? Here again appears the ironic discrepancy between Jones the artist and Jones the social thinker. Meanwhile under his strong arm there have arisen others whom Jones does not know. For the Irish Players, for the repertory movements, for the provincial municipal theatres, for the free stage societies, for the undoubted contributions of some younger writers and producers, he has but few and grudging words, though they are doing much to bring to pass his dreams in concrete form. And in a very real sense they are the first fruits of a harvest of his resolute sowing. To history, Jones will appear as the evangelist of dramatic art who came before the law-givers and builders of roads.

THOMAS H. DICKINSON.

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THE BOOK OF THE MONTH

AN ARTIST AMONG THE ARTS [1]

BY LAWRENCE GILMAN

Out of the depressing welter of our American writing upon æsthetics, with its incredible thinness and triteness and paltriness, its intellectual sterility, its miraculous dullness, its limitless and appalling vapidity, Mr. James Huneker, and the small and honorable minority of his peers, emerge with a conspicuousness that is both comforting and disgraceful.

Mr. Huneker recalls to us, in his critical adventures, a noble passage of William Sharp's, in which that admirable Celt remarked that criticism meant to him "not merely the more or less deft use of commentary or indication, but one of the several ways of literature, and in itself a rare and fine art—the marriage of science that knows, and of spirit that discerns." Mr. Huneker has written pages that will always be cherished by those for whom criticism is precisely that—one of the several ways of literature. We would rather hear him upon certain pieces by Chopin than hear the pieces themselves; we remember characterizations of music by Brahms in which the soul of the music has been distilled into prose that is richer and finer than itself; in his projection of the mind and art of Jules Laforgue, that extraordinary being lives with a brighter vividness than in his own delicate but tenuous buffoonaries; and it might well be claimed for Mr. Huneker that, in this country at least, he "invented" Richard Strauss.

He has been, from the first, high-priest of modernity in all the arts. If there is anything at once contemporaneous and notable in the seven arts that he has not "reacted" to,

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[1] *Ivory Apes and Peacocks.* By James Huneker. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915.

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we cannot think what it is. There is an airy and challenging arrogance in the width and inclusiveness of his sympathies. What a fine and sweeping and careless intellectual gesture one discerns in the sub-title of his newest sheaf of studies!—

Joseph Conrad, Walt Whitman,
Jules Laforgue, Dostoïevsky and Tolstoy,
Schönberg, Wedekind, Moussorgsky,
Cézanne, Vermeer, Matisse, Van Gogh, Gauguin,
Italian Futurists, Various Latter-Day Poets,
Painters, Composers and Dramatists.

So Walt Whitman might have begun one of his inexorable catalogues had he been as interested in æsthetic matters as in the things of our common humanity.

But Mr. Huneker is no mere sounding-board for every contemporaneous æsthetic tom-tom. There are guileless critical souls who pride themselves on their "modernity," —they are the prey (and also the bait) of the ladies' culture-clubs; they are the authors of the "How" books. They remind us of the self-diagnosis of the delightful old Bargee in Mr. W. W. Jacobs' *Beauty and the Barge,* whose lively awareness of The Sex was forever getting him into trouble: "Affability—that's what's the matter with me," he was wont to say; "too much affability!" It is one of the curses of American criticism—that and a dozen other major sins. It cannot be charged against Mr. Huneker. Susceptibility, clairvoyance, immediacy of response, are his; he is the friend of any talent that is fine and strange and frank enough to incur the dislike of the mighty army of Bourbons, Puritans, and Bœotians. He is innocent of prepossessions. He is infinitely flexible and generous. Yet if, in the twenty years that we have been reading him, he has ever praised a commonplace talent, we have no recollection of it. His critical tact is well-nigh infallible. "Our myriad intuitions are the veiled queens who steer our course through life," says a profound and exquisite seer, "though we have no words in which to speak of them." Mr. Huneker *has* words in which to speak of them. His competence in articulation is superlative—indeed, his utterance is sometimes (as we have admitted) too eloquent for his subject-matter. One is expected, of course, to discover infirmities in his performance; and no doubt his love of sumptuous verbal surfaces is one

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of them. Yielding to the sustained lyricism of his study of Chopin, for example, you are tempted to forget that those frail shoulders cannot bear the weight of the gorgeous mantel that his panegyrist flings lovingly and protectingly about them.

He is betrayed at times by his aversion to the facile agreements of the mob. This it is, one likes to think, that moves him to tell us that for him "a Beethoven string quartet holds more genuine music than the entire works of Wagner." We do not believe him. We have read him on *Tristan und Isolde,* and we know that in the deep places of his heart he loves Wagner more than he loves Beethoven: we are unalterably convinced that he would not exchange the third act of *Tristan* for all the absurdly sanctified "last quartets" of Beethoven. Perhaps, also, it is because that incomparable genius, Claude Debussy, has been stupidly extolled by fools and hypocrites, that Mr. Huneker is moved to do him so much less than justice in his chapter on *Music of To-Day and To-Morrow.* To call the composer of *Pelléas et Mélisande* a "miniaturist," "constipated in ideas," is intended, we are sure, rather as a counter-irritant to the ladies' culture clubs than as a sober registration of Mr. Huneker's beliefs. To bracket Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande* and Charpentier's *Louise,* as he does, is like bracketing—well, let us say, Mrs. Wharton's *Ethan Frome* and Miss Libby's *Lovers Once, But Strangers Now.* Mr. Huneker cannot really believe that the man who composed the fourth act of *Pelléas,* and *La Mer,* and *Ibéria,* is a "miniaturist"; that this is "music of the distaff"; and to charge Debussy with paucity of ideas, when French and English and Italian and American music has been flooded for the last ten years with pallid imitations of the Debussyean harmony, melody, and "atmosphere," is to sacrifice too much for the sake of confounding the unintelligent.

On the whole, we are less fully persuaded by this essay in musical prophecy,—in which Mr. Huneker seems to us to dispose rather too impetuously of his subject,—than by other portions of this engrossing volume. We enjoyed his treatment of the Whitman myth (partly because we perceived with relish its effect upon the Whitmanites)—indeed, Mr. Huneker in this book is rather in the way of taking a shot or two at his former idols. Whitman in especial he seems to have selected as a target for some particularly lethal

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marksmanship. He visited the poet at Camden in 1877, when, convalescing from a severe attack of Edgar Allen Poe, he had, as he says, "fallen desperately ill with Whitmania." His idol, he found, looked like a Greek rhapsodist—"tall, imposing in bulk, his regular features, clear, ruddy skin, plentiful white hair and beard, evoked an image of the magnificently fierce old men he chants in his book." But the fierceness was illusory: "his voice was a tenor of agreeable timbre, and he was gentle, even to womanliness. Indeed, he was like a receptive, lovable, old woman." Young Huneker poured out his soul—Walt pumped him dry, "in his quiet sympathetic way," and also collected, for some charity, several of Mr. Huneker's dollars in exchange for an autograph. On the ferry to Philadelphia, he told a friendly policeman of his visit to the poet. "That old gas-bag comes here every afternoon; he gets free rides across the Delaware," remarked the faithless "camerado"—which italicizes the ironic truth noted by Mr. Huneker: that although Whitman chose to address himself to his beloved "common people"—to his "camerados," "Americanos," deck-hands, machinists, brakemen, firemen, sailors, butchers, bakers—they have no use for him. "They do not understand him—do not, in fact, read him. They prefer Longfellow." It is quite evident that Mr. Huneker has recovered from his Whitmania. For him, now, the famous philosophy is "fudge"; its exponent was "an unintellectual man who wrote conventionally when he was plain Walter Whitman, living in Brooklyn. But he imitated Ossian and Blake, and their singing robes ill-befitted his burly frame." As for the paphian strain in the *Leaves,* Mr. Huneker confesses doubts that are shared by others. We think he is entirely correct in finding no true ecstasy, no true virility, in these passages: they do indeed "leave one cold despite their erotic vehemence; the abuse of the vocative is not persuasive, their raptures are largely rhetorical." But does Mr. Huneker render unto Whitman quite all that is his? Whitman's genius lies in his marvelous gift of epithet. For imaginative fidelity of phrase, he stands with the supreme magicians. Mr. Huneker grants him, as his "chief asset," an extraordinary susceptibility to the sense of touch—"tactile images flood his work." But not only tactile images: visual, aural, olfactory, too. His power of evoking the presence of the external world is sovereign and superb. This is

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his highest, his distinctive, quality: the quality of perfect fitness and felicity in the rendering of the sensory image. In this respect he must always, as Swinburne remarks of Marlowe, "be remembered with distinction and mentioned with honor."

And here we must perforce leave Mr. Huneker and his dentinal, zoölogical, and pavonine cargo, his silver and his gold and his spices; and we have not traversed, even cursorily, his zestful and clarifying annotations on Conrad and Dostoïevsky and Tolstoy and Artzibaschev, Schönberg and Wedekind, Vermeer, Moussorgsky, Gauguin, the Italian Futurists, De Maupassant, Puvis de Chavannes, Lafcadio Hearn. But he is in need of no meticulous indication. His position among writers on æsthetics is anomalous and incredible: no merchant traffics in his heart, yet he commands a large, an eager, an affectionate public. Is it because he is both vivid and acute, robust yet fine-fingered, tolerant yet unyielding, astringent yet tender—a mellow pessimist, a kindly cynic? Or is it rather because he is, primarily, a temperament—dynamic, contagious, lovable, inveterately alive—expressing itself through the most transparent of the arts?

LAWRENCE GILMAN.

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NEW BOOKS REVIEWED

THE WORLD CRISIS AND ITS MEANING. By Felix Adler. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1915.

Because of the natural tendency to identify moral intuition with moral ideals, or with moral dogma, it is easy to fall into the fallacy of supposing that ethical thought is necessarily either visionary or narrow. That it may be both broad and practical one may learn from such a book as Felix Adler's *The World Crisis and its Meaning*. Mr. Adler reasons ethically—not ideally nor dogmatically. He betrays neither the narrowness of the censor of morals nor that of the propagandist; he neither dreams the dream of the militarist nor follows after the vision of the unpractical peace enthusiast.

The idea underlying Mr. Adler's ethical discourses is essentially the same as that which David Jayne Hill has developed in his admirable treatise, *The People's Government*. In the bare idea—the idea of "mutual obligation," as it is called by Dr. Hill, or "interdependence," as Mr. Adler terms it—there is, of course, nothing absolutely new. "Charity," "tolerance," "service"—even the popular catchword "efficiency"—all these words point, more or less clearly, to the principle involved. But the application of the principle is too frequently narrow and personal. Charity remains in many minds mere sentiment, tolerance is regarded as a synonym for complaisance, service as a general term for works of supererogation, and efficiency as a name for success. To develop the idea of human interdependence, to enrich it by a broad and practical application to vexing problems, to reveal it as fundamental and impersonal: to do this is to advance thought and morals. Mr. Adler's discourses fall somewhat short of philosophic thoroughness and completeness, but they are more than preachments.

Just what the author means by "interdependence" is best seen in his chapter entitled "An Ethical Program of Social Reform." "To live rightly," declares Mr. Adler, "is to live so as to release life in others." It is only by so doing that one may attain to the maximum of one's own spiritual possibilities. Nor does concentra-

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tion upon this spiritual ideal tend to make one indifferent to material need. The case is just the reverse: over-emphasis of the notion of material improvement does retard spiritual growth. We are to seek first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness; then material gifts will follow as the result of our efforts directed to an immaterial end. Goodness, in the sense of refraining from sin and at the same time giving free play to benevolent instincts, often proves strangely unsatisfactory and "inefficient." What we need to learn, in order to escape from the tyranny of the Law and of our impulses, is to live in such a way that by enhancing our own worth we enhance the worth of others. This is the true romance; this is the "sum to trick the arithmetic"—"base," indeed—of crass materiality, because it includes material things in the equation without making them the determining factors.

Certainly the rule works well enough as applied to the relations of individuals. The finest element in friendship, in marriage, in all the loyalties that bind men closest, is supplied by what Mr. Adler calls "the dynamic inter-potency of lives." But is the rule practical in the larger sense? Does it apply with equal effectiveness to relations between groups or classes? Mr. Adler believes that it does. Social groups may and should vitalize one another like individuals. In this way every function is enhanced and lifted above the level of the unintellectual and the unspiritual. "The perfection of the function of the agriculturalist is seen in the reaction upon the sciences upon which agriculture is dependent. This reaction, itself consciously adopted as an aim, will mean the elevation of agriculture to the level of a liberal vocation. The farmer while tilling the soil will at the same time be tilling his inner mental field. In striving to contribute to the perfection of the function he will be mentally perfecting himself."

Upon the same principle, the author finds a middle ground between the extreme of militarism and the extreme of pacifism—a middle ground that is more solid than compromise. A war of defence, he shows, may be just; to reason otherwise is to accept the doctrine of non-resistance in its fullest implication; it is—so far as the eye of reason can see—to grant that might should be permitted to triumph over right. But to affirm this, is by no means to concede that war may be in itself a good. At the root of the matter lies the conception that every nation's rights are indissolubly bound up with the rights of every other nation, and this conception furnishes a test by which just and unjust warfare may be unfailingly distinguished.

The system of "militarist ethics" has already been pretty thoroughly riddled by the attacks of those who represent not pacificism but the ordinary views of enlightened humanity. Mr. Adler's analysis of the subject is simple and searching. Certainly, if there is any truth in the doctrine of "interdependence" or "mutual obliga-

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tion "—if this doctrine is indeed securely based upon Christian ethics or upon moral intuition—there could be no greater error, as the author points out, than to judge an action not according to its products but according to its by-products. For behind the reasoning which justifies war on the ground that it schools men in honor and heroism lurks the assumption that all virtues are but by-products, and that they must be sought through indirection. It is easy to perceive the modicum of truth in this sweeping major premise of the militarist syllogism; it is necessary also to realize that this assumption involves a radical confusion of ideas—the confusion of virtue with virtues, of character—as a congeries of desirable habits —with morality. Courage may be a by-product, self-sacrifice may be a by-product, almost any single virtue may be a by-product; but the will to do right is not a by-product. The love of God and of one's neighbor cannot be incidental values acquired in the pursuit of a selfish or indifferent end. These things are either fundamental or they are nothing at all.

If fundamental morality is hostile to militarism, then surely it is friendly to peace. But just here it is important to bear in mind the distinction between fundamental morality and the ideals that may be built upon it. An ideal is a work of the imagination and may partake of illusion. Just as the world crisis is forcing men to face the eternal verities and to decide whether they stand indeed for truth or merely for profound error, so it has shocked men out of the egregious illusion that the world is, in a moral sense, highly civilized. And though the war has staggered and sickened humanity, it does not follow that at its conclusion we shall enter upon an era of permanent peace. Then as always it will be an illusion to suppose that what ought to be, may be immediately attained. Yet to doubt that the ideal of universal peace will ultimately be realized is to renounce belief in progress. This Mr. Adler refuses to do because he believes that faith is creative. As a true meliorist he seeks to justify his faith by making it practical. Good-will, he shows, is the foundation of peace, and good-will is simply the clear recognition of spiritual independence. This principle, notwithstanding the work of the Hague Tribunal and the signing of many treaties of arbitration, has never been thoroughly applied. "When not only the governments through their agents meet," writes the author, "but the people meet through their representatives, the labor delegates, the merchant delegates, the delegates of the peasantry and the rest, then should be exemplified what appears to me to be a psychological truth, namely, that justice, fairness, respect for rights, are produced when we see and hear the very person who claims to have those rights . . . . assert them, expound them, plead for them."

In general the conclusions reached by Mr. Adler are precisely as rational as they are moral. His discourses are more inspiring than most moral exhortations and sounder than most philosophies.

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THE MIGHTY AND THE LOWLY. By Katrina Trask. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915.

The process of clarifying thought is usually long and laborious —and the clearness of thought attained is doubtless correspondingly precious. But sometimes moral vision is cleared, as it were, in a flash. There are questions of more than personal importance for the solution of which is needed the insight of the prophet rather than the skill and patience of the teacher. A truth which subtle reasoning has missed may be revealed in startling clearness by a play, a poem, or a speech. Such a truth Mrs. Trask has discovered, and she has set it forth with characteristic simplicity, conviction, and fervor.

It is often said, if seldom fully believed, that the regeneration of society must come through the regeneration of the individual. Yet the fact that despite much Christian teaching the world still remains shockingly unregenerate has turned men's minds away from the Christian conception toward specific programs of procedure. The error consists not in supposing that Christian ethics is incompatible with social reform, but in supposing that Christianity is in itself a program or can be interpreted as a program; it consists in not seeing that the supreme principle cannot be identified with a definite program just because it is supreme. They are in error, therefore, who use the fact that the New Testament offers no specific teaching in regard to social reform as an excuse for inertia or callousness—who quote with a perversion of the true meaning such sayings as, "The poor ye have always with you," or, "To him that hath shall be given." Equally in error are those who strive constantly to convert the teachings of Jesus into a radical social theory —who depict the Founder of Christianity as a partisan of the poor. Sentiment has lent countenance to this false conception; the struggles of class with class have strengthened it. Just as each of the warring nations of Europe claims the sanction of the God of Battles, Jehovah of the Thunders, so rich and poor alike—but especially those who speak in behalf of the poor—have asserted a right to the special support of the Prince of Peace. "The proletaires claim that hitherto those who have taught the Word of Jesus have not considered the proletaires. This is true. But now the proletaires do not consider the aristocrats: they lay the emphasis upon the fact that Jesus was no respecter of persons—and mean thereby that He respected *only* the poor and was no respecter of, no sympathizer with, the rich." No one, however, can read the Gospels with open eyes without perceiving that Jesus was no respecter of persons in any sense. With him rich and poor were upon a perfect equality. This is the obvious yet unrecognized truth which Mrs. Trask sets forth with a clearness and completeness that leave no room for a doubt, and with an appeal to conscience and common sense more effective than could be the mere abstract discussion of rights. For the author

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attaches to her broader and juster view all the reverence which belongs to the religious character of the Founder of Christianity and all the sweet reasonableness which belongs to him in his human aspect; and she does this without *ex parte* pleading. Parable, deed, direct teaching, even the symbolism that may be drawn from the story of Christ's birth and his death, all point to the same conclusion.

Without denying that disproportionate riches are an evil or that the workers in the social revolution have their reason and their rights, Mrs. Trask rightly protests against misinterpretation of the teachings of the Gospels, and insists not only or chiefly upon the power of religion, but rather upon the lesson of democracy which the Gospels teach.

VIOLETTE OF PÈRE LACHAISE. By Anna Strunsky Walling. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1915.

As one begins to read Mrs. Walling's fascinating and delicately phrased epitome of a woman's life—*Violette of Père Lachaise*—one is inevitably reminded of Walter Pater's *The Child in the House*. There is in Mrs. Walling's story the same completeness of escape from the commonplace as in Pater's, and there is something of the same effect of haunting strangeness. Mrs. Walling, too, has chosen, as Pater so often did, the form of an unsubstantial narrative—a narrative personal in its interest, but tenuous in that it subordinates detail to subjective truth. Really, the resemblance goes deeper; for Mrs. Walling's theme is the same as that about which Pater invariably wrote under whatever guise—the theme of life and death.

We are alive, and we know that we must die! In view of this incomprehensible situation what should be our attitude? Philosophy and religion have given their general answers; but in the last analysis the personal answer alone strikes to the root of faith. The intimations, the instinctive choices which really determine one's philosophy, cannot be reduced to a formula without a loss of conviction; they need to be clothed with personality and with feeling. Such is the motive, doubtless, that influenced the author of *Violette*. Mrs. Walling conducts her search for the true, indestructible romance of life through a personality; and if she proves little she persuades much, for she shows us an inner life wholly natural and lovely both in its joy and its distress—a life, moreover, that is self-consistent, inwardly whole, despite the keen realization of death that is so persistent an element of it.

Violette lives with her grandfather in a house near the cemetery of Père Lachaise in Paris. Père Lachaise is her playground and her teacher. She learns from it not to fear death and to estimate life as a thing of value and meaning. The story tells, with psychological truth, of her childhood, her early introduction to "social faith," her

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experience of friendship, the meaning that art held for her, her first love, her final finding of herself. To one of Violette's type finding oneself is no easy process. It means the attainment of some sort of satisfaction in the search for larger life and for the assurance of personal worth. Such satisfaction may be attained in despite of the dread of annihilation. The consciousness of life as something larger than personality may triumph over the consciousness of death. Just how this may be it is not easy to explain. The story of Violette shows with poignant clearness that it is so.

There is thus a radical difference of spirit between Mrs. Walling's work and that of the epicurean Pater. Violette, unlike Marius, has a soul, and not merely the adumbration of one. Her story is warm with life and not with the semblance of it. Violette, to be sure, feels that life is precious because of its fragility. But the thought breeds only that wholesome sadness at the thought of death which all must feel—the house of mourning is better than the house of mirth. It does not induce the chill melancholy of pessimism. The meaning of life is service; if then death follows, ending all, nevertheless one may attain here on earth to something not wholly earthy.

Violette, too, can attach meaning to beauty without making beauty in itself the end to be sought. "When another autumn came she watched the fall of leaves—the crimson whirl in the air, the brilliant maples grouped about the white birch trees which were being stripped before her eyes by the breeze. . . . Why could not all dying be beautiful like this? When her time came, she, too, could deck herself out marvellously! She could summon more thoughts from out the recesses of her mind, memories that should be more than memories, charged with a vital force to persist, to act; she could array herself at the end in the full flowering of all that had ever begun in her . . . she would surrender all, let them be carried out by gentle winds to impregnable regions while she herself sank to the ground a symbol, a token, a pledge of love and life, like each brilliant leaf then descending."

A Journal of Impressions in Belgium. By May Sinclair. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915.

To be sincere is a difficult art. Most of us are content with a very moderate measure of truth-telling because we lack the skill or the courage to attempt more. Even in matters of fact it is notoriously difficult to achieve both frankness and accuracy. When the subject matter is what we are supposed to know most immediately and most thoroughly—namely, our own sensations and impressions—the case becomes almost desperate. It is doubtless, in part, because of the sheer difficulty of truth-telling that we are inclined to respect the man of few words rather than the man of many, and to distrust

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him who talks much about his own moods or motives. The would-be sincere person who is garrulous attempts too much; he is apt to tell what everybody knows, or what is misleading.

This, which is true of truth, is also true of fiction. The conventional romancer simplifies matters for himself by adopting as his own the conventionally romantic point of view, and thus he achieves without effort a more or less impressive effect of sincerity. The less conventional and more imaginative romancer gives way to the "literary sense"; he builds up for himself, as well as for his creations, a personality that is of only transitory existence—a personality not really viable. He offers, as normal human experiences, impressions and reactions such as never were on sea or land. The realist, on the other hand, is prone to deny that he possesses any personality worth mentioning—which is annoying and unfair to the reader. Moreover, when he does this, he, too, unduly simplifies the problem, shirking the true difficulty of being sincere.

But there are persons who possess in a high degree the gift and the art of sincere expression. In conversation, every casual remark of theirs bears the stamp of a genuine individuality. In recording facts, they ingeniously and ingenuously tell just what they know—no more and no less. In imaginative writing they are true both to their own selves and to reality. In this way they succeed in being both original and truthful, both normal and unique, and, if they are great enough, both personal and universal in their appeal.

One of these gifted persons is May Sinclair, author of *The Divine Fire, The Three Sisters, The Prodigal* and other novels of equally fine quality; and her book of impressions from Belgium is in its way the most genuine and vital piece of writing that has come from the war area. The author went to Belgium as a member of an ambulance corps which was taken into the service of the Belgian Red Cross. Her opportunities for observation were, indeed, rather limited. The most exciting adventures were not hers, nor did the choice bits of inside information fall to her lot. All this she frankly acknowledges. "This is a journal of impressions," she writes, "and it is nothing more. It will not satisfy people who want accurate and substantial information about Belgium or about the war or about field ambulances and hospital work, and do not want to see any of these things 'across a temperament.'" Furthermore, with an almost desperate-seeming sincerity the author calls attention to *lacunæ* in her narrative, brusquely corrects in footnotes hasty statements set down in the text, confesses to a lack of information or to an uncertainty regarding dates. This conscientiousness occasionally leads to blindness. It is rather baffling, for instance, to be told that the author met a certain "Mr. ———" at such a time and under such and such circumstances, and then to be informed in a note that the author is not sure after all that the man in question was really "Mr. ———". It may be illogical, yet it is natural, to

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feel that though we may not know who " Mr. ——— " is, we ought not to be cheated out of the satisfaction of knowing that the person Miss Sinclair saw was really he. But in general the absence of anything like literary puttying or veneering serves merely to enhance the distinguishing quality of Miss Sinclair's narrative—its psychological accuracy. To attempt any summary of the author's impressions would be to represent them unfairly. It is enough to say that Miss Sinclair records perceptions of extraordinary keenness; that her point of view is normal without being in the least commonplace; that, seeking no false " unity of tone," she describes unmistakably true reactions, not only making us feel " the pity of it," but compelling us to realize that if we were actual witnesses of Belgium's distress we should sometimes be unable to feel the expected emotion at all.

SOCIALIZED GERMANY. By Frederic C. Howe, LL.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915.

The most recent of Frederic C. Howe's treatises upon various practical aspects of political science, *Socialized Germany*, is one of those books which have been belated by the war. It was originally intended as a peace book and not at all as a war book. In a sense, however, the publication of this work at the present moment is timely. It is true enough that State socialism " has largely made Germany what she is, a menace and a model to other nations, a problem to statesmen of other countries "—a demonstrator of efficiency, if not " a pathfinder in social reform." Some knowledge of German institutions, certainly, is desirable; disapproval of German world policy should lead no one to the hasty conclusion that the German scheme of things is wrong from the ground up.

It is equally true that social and economic problems in America are pressing hard for solution. Our public domain is exhausted—or withheld from use. The West is no longer a land of golden opportunity. Monopolies in industry threaten to grow beyond the Government's power to control them. Unemployment is more or less chronic. In the cities there appears to be a lack of skilled administrators and an absence of social vision. In view of all this, Germany, a nation which has solved in her own way many of the problems which confront us, is surely worth studying.

No one doubts that America will successfully cope with those problems to the solution of which the traditional *laissez-faire* philosophy may prove inadequate. There are indeed many indications of growing liberality and enlightenment in American life. Just at present we are beginning to see in the colleges young men and women more or less imbued with new ideas and ideals. We are beginning to see in affairs a somewhat broader and more tolerant spirit. The admired type of successful business man is no longer the mere accu-

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mulator of wealth—no longer a man of the class which a recent writer somewhat ferociously describes as "prehensile conservatives" who have "made good in the distribution of pecuniary flotsam." If it prove true that the best remedy for unsatisfactory conditions lies in heavily taxing the incomes of the rich in order to obtain funds for carrying out expensive social legislation, doubtless American men of wealth will learn to bear their share of the general burden as cheerfully as do the burghers of German cities. But America must solve her problems in her own way—that is, democratically. Just how she is to do this is the really important question—and it is a question which Dr. Howe in the treatise under consideration does not discuss. "This book," writes the author, "is not a plea for socialism. . . . I believe in democracy." Nevertheless, the tendency, if not the conscious aim, of his book is to awaken admiration for the smooth and effective working of the German system of social laws. How far the success of the German methods are dependent upon that absolutism, the danger of which he fully recognizes, and how far, aside from this, the German methods are applicable to American conditions, Dr. Howe does not attempt to show.

In short, the book *Socialized Germany* is simply an excellent descriptive treatise, with an undertone of admiration for efficiency and of urgency toward stronger public spirit, wider vision. In this respect it resembles the author's specific discussions of city government. But it is decidedly less definite in its bearing upon American conditions, and hence much vaguer in its message, than, for example, Mr. Howe's *European Cities at Work*. For the basis of comparison upon which the work depends for its value and meaning is relatively broad and ill-understood.

LIFE AND LETTERS IN THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE. By Christopher Hare. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915.

Just as the spirit of the Italian Renaissance seems to have been intoxicating to the men who lived in it, so to modern men who write about it the period seems to be somewhat overstimulating. The theme acts as a challenge to the writer's rhetorical powers; it spurs him to ecstasies of appreciation and to spurts of romantic enthusiasm. A sort of licensed exaggeration prevails, as it does in only a little less degree in popular books about ancient Greece. For to be enthusiastic about the Athens of Pericles or the Florence of Lorenzo de' Medici is thought to be good for the soul. Thus the impression of life in the Italian Renaissance which the unlearned reader acquires is likely to be portentous and dazzling—romantic but hardly lifelike. For the writers show this life through a splendid mist.

Life and Letters in the Italian Renaissance, by Mrs. Marion Andrews ("Christopher Hare"), neither dispels the mist nor adds

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particularly to its lustre. Mrs. Andrews is the author of numerous books dealing with the more romantic aspects of the period in question. These books of hers—among which may be mentioned *Ladies of the Italian Renaissance, The Romance of a Medici Warrior, Courts and Camps of the Italian Renaissance, Men and Women of the Italian Reformation*—have achieved a success not ill-merited. The author has read widely within her field and has gone to the sources, moreover. In the present volume, her criticism and comment are for the most part rather unilluminating. The popular lyrics, the rustic idylls, and the classical fables of the Golden Age need for their proper appreciation some measure of interpretation, especially when they are read only in rather prosy metrical translation. This interpretation Mrs. Andrews does not adequately supply. She does, on the other hand, provide her readers with too much formal eulogy of a kind that is rather boring. If she were dealing with such writers as Homer or Chaucer, this fault might be more easily overlooked. *Their* charm can be explained by nobody and is felt by everybody. But the contrary is true of the elegant and sophisticated verses written by Lorenzo de' Medici, Jacopo Sannazarro, or Angelo Poliziano. To dwell upon obvious sentiments is not the road to appreciation of literary productions so rarely and curiously beautiful as these; and it is hard to forgive Mrs. Andrews for having impressed very heavily upon her readers the artificiality of the Golden Age without really putting them in touch with its vital enthusiasm. The author, too, is prone to quote, with none too well-defined purpose, rather long extracts from dedications, letters of condolence, or of courtly compliment, and the like—extracts that throw little direct light on life or character.

By far the most rewarding part of the book is that wherein Mrs. Andrews discusses the romantic epic, describing the *Morgante Maggiore* of Pulci, the *Orlando Innamorata* of Boiardo, and the *Orlando Furioso* of Ariosto. Particularly in dealing with the work of Ariosto she reacts to the fullness and richness of her theme; her style becomes lively, she reveals a sense of proportion, and she imparts to her readers something of the imaginative appeal and the satiric humor of the original. The chapter, too, upon Machiavelli is biographically informing, correct in viewpoint, and reasonably lifelike in its depiction of character.

The author seems to have aimed at writing an honestly instructive and moderately entertaining book of the popular sort. In this she has measurably succeeded; but her work is marred by diffuseness and by conventionality of comment—qualities by no means essential in popular writing. The author's manner is sometimes rather trying, in that it urgently solicits interest without always inspiring it.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

"ANYTHING FOR AMERICA"

SIR,—You are quite right. "Anything for America," it is, and has been, ever since our controversies with Germany began. The Berlin "notes" in response to President Wilson's grave and courteous presentations of our complaints against the unspeakable German crimes of which we have been the victims, have varied all the way between insolent patronizing and hardly veiled contempt. You say in that splendid article in this month's REVIEW, "God forbid that we should forget the *Lusitania!*"

Maybe we have not as yet altogether forgotten that over a hundred American men, women, little children and babes in arms were brutally murdered by the pirate who sank the *Lusitania*. Maybe we shall not forget it for some time to come. But that it has long ago been forgotten by the German Government is only too evident. When the English and French submarine hunters succeeded in practically exterminating the submarine vermin, then we at last got something like a decent answer to our threats and protests, and are informed from Berlin that hereafter some of the elementary principles of sea warfare as conducted by civilized nations, as distinguished from Barbary Coast savages, will hereafter be heeded. This we have been celebrating as another "Great Diplomatic Victory." Meantime, all that has been done in Berlin with regard to the murderer of the Americans on the *Lusitania* is to give him a decoration for distinguished service. Probably he is about the only man left in Germany now who does not forget the *Lusitania*.

How devoutly it is to be wished that some of the Andrew Jackson energy of that "Anything for America" article of yours had found lodgment in Washington before the submarine savagery question was eliminated by the elimination of the submarine!

RIDGWAY F. CUTHBERT.

PITTSBURGH, PENN.

LEST WE FORGET

SIR,—I crave the privilege of thanking you personally for your stirring article in the October number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, entitled "Anything for America." I wish every true American might read and take to heart these words of yours in particular:

"Be it for months or for years, the mighty struggle must continue until the curse of ages shall be lifted and the triumph of Democracy over Autocracy shall be complete. Then and not until then will Europe be immune to war's alarms and America be free from peril. If we would be true to our own republican faith, we cannot keep too constantly before the minds of our countrymen the fact that the overpowering issue is between Govern-

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ment subject to the will of the people and Imperialism founded on force. And if we must fight, we shall have at least the satisfaction of standing shoulder to shoulder with democratic England and with the gallant sons of France in the most holy of wars for civilization and humanity, and of realizing that the cries of the dying did not rise from the sinking ships to Heaven and to America in vain."

And when we say "democratic England" let us not forget to add "democratic France" as well—France, to whom we are indebted for the Democracy under which it is our good fortune to live here to-day in our beloved America. Doubtless many Americans read with hearty approval the remarks of a recent speaker with reference to our great debt of gratitude of France, and especially to our own Lafayette, for he is ours as much as are any of the splendid men in blue and buff of the American Revolution.

And why in the name of all that is consistent and fitting, if we have a general holiday in honor of Columbus, have we not a holiday in honor of the one man of all the men of all the nations of Europe to whom we owe the highest honor and veneration? To be sure, the French vote is not so large here as is the Italian, but why must we *always* mix gutter politics with our sentiment?

J. M. L.

St. Paul, Minn.

A TEXAS VIEW OF MEXICO'S TRAGEDY

Sir,—It was with more than ordinary interest that I read your "Tragedy of Mexico" in the September North American Review.

My expectation and full belief is that good will come from it, and I hope that you will continue to the end on that line. The able way you presented the facts and portrayed the situation is truly refreshing. The great press of the North, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, has taken your editorial for a text and given your views the widest circulation.

There is no one who had a more sincere admiration for the President than the writer, yet we must pause to consider with astonishment when such outrages and persistent blunders have been and are being made, at the present moment, in the Mexican trouble. We, as good American people, should let the Mexicans operate their Government in their own way without outside interference.

There are just three things in this Mexican matter that our country should consider—two in retrospect:

First, there would not have been any successful revolution against Diaz had it not been for assistance from the Texas border,—the furnishing of men, arms and ammunition, to Madero.

Second, at this time peace would have been restored in Mexico had it not been for President Wilson's making and continuing war on Huerta,—a personal war,—aiding and abetting gangs of bandits, murderers and thieves.

Third, there is no need of our intervening in Mexico now, or any time in the past. The solution is simple, so far as our country is concerned. It is for our country to say "Hands off!" and permit the Mexican people to do their business in their own way. Then order and government will be restored without delay.

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It is our country's action in meddling in their affairs, giving encouragement and aid to the various bands of bandits outraging Mexico that is prolonging and increasing the "Tragedy of Mexico."

Think of it!—Here in El Paso there are fifteen thousand or more of the owners of Mexico, who have had to flee from their country to save their lives, leaving their property and homes, now confiscated by those robber bands to which our country furnishes arms and ammunition without stint, which is paid for from stolen property. At the same time, these owners of Mexico are denounced as "Cientificos," a term of derision, because they have some education and wealth.

El Paso has grown more during the past five years than in the previous twenty-five. In this recent era of prosperity the banks have doubled in number, with ten times the deposits. Some of them, or all, have side issues or departments handling Villa and Carranza "money."

Just prior to the appearance of your "Tragedy of Mexico," a well defined plan was laid (reaching from New York and centering in El Paso) to have Villa's man of straw—who would be Villa, to all purposes—named as provisional President, and to saddle these several hundred million dollars of Villa and Carranza "money" as a debt or obligation on Mexico; to validate such of this paper as the combination held, and declare the balance "counterfeit." This paper, when any is sold, is one-fifth to one cent on the dollar, handled by the package in armfuls. They are printed in large denominations,—500 or 1,000 dollars. It was less expense to print and less trouble to count in thousands than in ten-dollar bills.

The name "American" is disliked and distrusted by the people of Mexico, and rightly so. They cannot well make a distinction between the disposition of the people on the Texas border and that of the people largely composing the American nation. This dislike and enmity has been greatly advanced by our President's using the Federal forces practically to intern the best and most responsible citizens of Mexico, at the same time giving the bandits and their representatives free hand to come and go at pleasure.

Nothing could have incensed the Mexican people against our Government more than the arresting and imprisoning of Huerta, and throwing him into that notoriously vile and dirty jail at El Paso, when the thermometer was above one hundred, and keeping him there for two weeks without his having shown a particle of guilt on any charge. Nothing could have added more to the popularity of Huerta than this travesty. In obtaining his arrest, there was a well defined plan to have him turned over to the bandit gangs now in charge of Mexico, under a specious treaty between Mexico and Texas. Both Villa and Carranza made application to have Huerta extradited, but this was a little too "raw," and the plan was not carried out. The files of the El Paso *Times*, under dates following Huerta's arrest, will give the data on this latter point.

T. M. Michaelo.

El Paso, Texas.

WHAT THE TRUTH ABOUT MEXICO IS WORTH

Sir,—Hurrah for the September number! The truth about Mexico is alone worth a year's subscription. For the last thirty months the strain on some of us inarticulate fellows, who knew the truth and realized what was going on, has been awful to think about.

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As to Europe, I am not with you. Out here in the West the social game doesn't require us to lick any English boots. There seems to us to be two sides to the big quarrel—both of them bad. Belgium, of course, was innocent, France too civilized, too intelligent to seek war. But among the rest of the fighting lunatics, is there any real choice? When it comes to envy, greed, contempt of neutral's rights, and general super-cussedness, aren't they all tarred with the same stick?

ALFRED M. CAMP.

DURANGO, COLO.

FREDERIC HARRISON AND ROGER BACON

SIR,—I have read with much interest the article on Roger Bacon by Frederic Harrison in your August number, but regret to note that it is not altogether free from a misconception as to Roger Bacon's relation to his own age and to his ecclesiastical Superiors. Most modern scholars have long since discarded the false Renaissance tradition as to the general darkness of the mediæval period properly so called. It is very difficult, therefore, to understand how Dr. Harrison, unquestionably learned as he is, can refer to Bacon (p. 246) as "surrounded by the gross superstitions and conventions of the Dark Ages." Roger Bacon lived in the thirteenth century, and Renan was doubtless accurate in calling that century "the greatest century of the Middle Ages." It was a time of rapid and unmistakable progress in almost every line of human endeavor. It is an error, then, to suppose that Roger Bacon lived in an age of general ignorance and superstition, but it is still more erroneous to suppose that he stood alone in his lifetime as though his was a solitary voice proclaiming vainly the principles of modern enlightenment in a night otherwise devoid of critical experimental knowledge. The real fact is that Bacon was but one of a galaxy of geniuses who, "by his superior realization of the importance of positive studies and experimental research added his own special contribution to the achievements of the age, though, even in this department, he had others to share his glory." Indeed, we shall rightly appreciate Bacon only as we gain a closer acquaintance with the three men whom he acknowledged as his masters in learning—Bishop Grossteste, Adam Marsh and Peter de Maricourt— and whose knowledge and method he absorbed and more fully developed.

Dr. Harrison's assertion (p. 243) that "in 1278 when Bacon was about sixty-four he was condemned for heresy and imprisoned," has no foundation whatever in the first-hand authorities. Apart from this consideration, it is to be remembered that Bacon had proved his orthodoxy before this period by the *Epistola de Nullitate Magiae*. So far as concerns Bacon's extant works, there is no error regarding matters of faith in any of these writings, which Bacon certainly submitted with all willingness to the judgment of the Church. His purpose, as Dr. Bridges has shown, was to institute under papal authority a school of scientific and progressive culture that should enable the West to hold its own against the East and thus promote the work of the Church in civilizing and evangelizing mankind. We should wholly misconceive Bacon, therefore, if we supposed that his language on this matter was a veil beneath which heterodox speculation might be allowed to pass. He was not merely orthodox in the common acceptation of the word, but intensely Catholic. It cannot be denied, however, that

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some of his statements regarding his contemporaries are rash, inaccurate, and unjust, and marred by personalities, which would have aroused animosity against him just as much had they been written at the present day.

There are other indications in Dr. Harrison's article that he is not so well informed as he might be concerning his subject; as, for example, where he declares (p. 243) that Bacon "about his thirtieth year took the degree of Doctor of Theology," and his description of him (p. 250) as "one of the noblest divines in the central and characteristic age of the Catholic Church." It may be mentioned here that Bacon never became a Doctor of Theology, and it is doubtful whether he was ever in holy orders.

Another statement of Dr. Harrison (p. 243) to the effect that the successor of Pope Clement IV. "was appointed for three years" is not less misleading. It is a matter of history that the death of Clement IV., which occurred 29 Nov., 1268, left the Papal Chair vacant until 1 Sept., 1271, when the Cardinals elected Gregory X., who reigned until 10 Jan., 1276.

Again, those who are at all familiar with the history of mediæval philosophy will surely be surprised to hear St. Bonaventure classed by Dr. Harrison (p. 248) amongst Churchmen "who cared little for philosophy." Whatever may be thought of his attitude towards Bacon, Bonaventure was without doubt one of the greatest philosophers of the Middle Ages. It is true that no work of his is exclusively philosophical, but in his commentary on the *Sentences,* his *Breviloquium,* his *Itinerarium Mentis ad Deum* and his *De Reductione Artium ad Theologiam,* he deals with the most important and difficult questions of philosophy in such a way that these four works taken together contain the elements of a complete system of philosophy, and at the same time bear striking witness to the mutual interpenetration of philosophy and theology, which is a distinguishing mark of the Scholastic period.

Certain it is, moreover, that at least one of the arguments advanced in the well-known letter beginning *Innominato Magistro,* written by Bonaventure when he was lecturing at Paris between 1248 and 1257,—that, namely, in favor of studying Philosophy in general ("for without practical knowledge of other sciences the Holy Scriptures cannot be understood"),—would have appealed to Bacon, whether or not he was the "unnamed Master" to whom the letter in question was addressed.

It is a mistake to suppose that Bacon's writings were almost forgotten for centuries, as Dr. Harrison avers (p. 250); or that his influence was negligible after his death. The extant manuscripts of Bacon's works show that he never wanted admirers, and that his works exerted a continuous influence. For the rest, Dr. Harrison, in recognizing the genius of Bacon, has fallen into the further error of overlooking his importance as a Schoolman and of exaggerating his importance as a man of science.

I refer those of your readers who may be interested in the subject to the volume of *Essays on Roger Bacon* by different authors published last year on the occasion of the Oxford celebrations to commemorate the seventh centenary of his birth (Oxford University Press, 1914).

Might I venture to add that the study of these *Essays* is much to be recommended as a corrective to limited views and one-sided enthusiasm about the personality and work of Roger Bacon?

PASCHAL ROBINSON.

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA, WASHINGTON, D. C.

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TUBS, ARCHAIC DECENCIES, AND THE "SPOON RIVER ANTHOLOGY"

SIR,—In a review of Mr. Edgar Lee Master's *Spoon River Anthology* ("The Book of the Month"—NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW), Mr. Lawrence Gilman, after having forgiven Whitman his crudities and his cataloguings for the sake of the pleasant oases that refresh the reader of his poems, remarks that "There are no such compensations in Mr. Master's verse"; and he closes with this thrust at Mr. Master's style: "But why drag in poetry?"—whatever he means by "Poetry" (if he doesn't use, he invokes, the capital) a sacred jar of dead rose petals, withered mystery, glass-cased, and wound away in mummy-cloths from the rude hands of reason;—as who should scrutinize a painting through his eye-glass and then remark, "Very pretty, but why call it a picture?"

As to the lack of compensation in Mr. Master's verse, I should like to hear what reasons one who doesn't like Deacon Taylor's "cirrhosis of the liver" can adduce for denying "unexcelled imaginative justness of language" to these lines from "Thomas Trevelyan":

> "Livers and artists of Hellas centuries gone,
> Sealing in little thuribles dreams and wisdom,
> Incense beyond all price, forever fragrant,
> A breath whereof makes clear the eyes of the soul!"

or to these from the solemn retrospect of William Herndon:

> "And I saw the figures of the past,
> As if in a pageant glassed by a shining dream,
> Move through the incredible sphere of time."

The quiet close of the poem evoking this image, like a grave coda:

> "Often and often I saw you
> As the cawing crows winged their way to the wood
> Over my house-top at solemn sunsets,
> There by my window,
> Alone."

Griffy the Cooper, though less conventional in speech than the gentlemen I have quoted, expresses, I think, as much poetry as pertinent good sense when he says:

> "You are submerged in the tub of yourself—
> Taboos and rules and appearances
> Are the staves of your tub.
> Break them and dispel the witchcraft
> Of thinking your tub is life!
> And that you know life!"

The public has simply got to break the staves and dispel the witchcraft of thinking its tub is art, and that it knows art: of assuming that literary style is more fixed than style of manner or of dress. Just as the speech of different generations and of different individuals varies according to the change of the times and the variations of personality, so the speech of literature evolves and varies—the writers of each period developing new from old, or, like Wordsworth, shattering the old, to blow new bottles for new wine. Take the "Spooniad" conceived and partly executed by "the late Mr. Jonathan Swift Somers" in mongrel blank verse—who in the world, do you think, would read an entire *Spoon River Anthology* so presented, or put out in the manner of Browning's *Men and Women*, admirable

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as that manner was for Browning's purpose? It could be done, more or less, no doubt of it, but with what inevitably grotesque effect, with what evaporation of that quality which, as Mr. Gilman confesses, "seizes you, engrosses you, haunts you." This sharp flexible style, like a clean blade, cuts away all frippery.

But why argue? The lovers of poetry, honest lovers of life as it is, in its frank crudity, its amazing loveliness—life which the others are forever chasing after to swaddle in all sorts of archaic and foolish decencies—such find out these things for themselves; they know, they don't have to be told; the others refuse to listen, spoiled children that *will* have everything blurred and attenuated by the drawing-room derivative. But perhaps they have weak eyes—it might be unkind to deprive them of their amiable amber spectacles.

CLARA SHANAFELT.

CANTON, OHIO.

[We fancy Mr. Gilman would reply that he cheerfully admits the "unexcelled imaginative justness of language" disclosed in the excerpts from the *Spoon River Anthology* adduced by our correspondent,—and to be found as well in other passages from that remarkable work; but that it requires something besides "unexcelled imaginative justness of language" to turn what is essentially emotional prose into authentic poetry. No doubt he would agree with her profound and clarifying observation that "the speech of literature evolves and varies"; and we have as little doubt that his admiration for the genius exhibited in the *Spoon River Anthology* will remain unaffected by our correspondent's imputation to it of characteristics which it does not possess. As for our correspondent's disturbing intimation that the literary critic of the REVIEW is of those who would swaddle life in "all sorts of archaic and foolish decencies," we confess that his inclinations in this direction have thus far escaped our notice.—EDITOR.]

MORE FROM MR. PINGREE, OF MANCHESTER, N. H.

SIR,—I see that you have tried to make me out a "man without a country" by your ingenious dropping of the address from my letter, and by the heading which you give to it. Will you hear my protest, Colonel Harvey, for I don't feel a bit like the Galilean? I am *not* "beyond the aid of maps."

Let me refer to your words on page 337 in the September issue; it is there you have put your sword-point through the heart of this troublous matter. "But there is another phase which, though less pitiful and heart-rending, bears a much wider significance. It relates to the value of American citizenship and directly concerns the honor of the nation. Must Americans hereafter regard themselves as men without a country? That is the vital question now raised for the first time in the history of the Republic. . . ."

Is not the question, rather, "What are the respective limits of individual and collective responsibility?" Americans (to allow you the word) can never be without a country. Their country is as secure as the Israel of the prophets. Indeed, it may be the Israel of the prophets, but no matter. Are wealthy travelers to foreign lands and poor business men with foreign interests, to serve the nation or be served by it—are they to serve to the death or be served to the death? There is another statement of the question, preferable, I think, to yours.

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When we know what our collective responsibility is, what "America" means to the inhabitants of the United States of North America, then, and hardly before, we will see clearly what our duty is in times like the present, doubtless due to recur often.

GORDON PINGREE.

MANCHESTER, N. H.

[The omission from our correspondent's previous communication of his place of residence was due, not to a sinister editorial plot, as he seems to suspect, but to that far less interesting circumstance, an editorial inadvertence. The fact that Mr. Pingree hails from Manchester, N. H., is therefore gladly heralded above.—EDITOR.]

A CLEAR PORTRAYAL

SIR,—I want to thank you for your article, "Is our Administration Anæmic or American?" It has been a matter of wonder to me how people seem to forget the sequence of events in our relations with Mexico during the last two years, and how, at each new departure of our President's, they should shrug tolerant shoulders. Mr. Mann's exclamation in Congress: "Will some one tell me what *is* the President's Mexican policy?" is a rare bit of humor, which met with strange unresponsiveness from the American public. While in San Francisco this summer I ran across the copy of the *Argonaut* from which you quote; after reading it, I said to myself, Is it possible that the clear insight and clean-cut reasoning of our country is alive only in this far Western State? But your article has now removed the slur of thick wits from the East and given me great pleasure in easing my own inarticulateness, by portraying so clearly a condition which has kept my spirit boiling with an indignation for which I could find no vent.

MARY ELLEN WOOD.

NEW YORK CITY.

OUR PULL

SIR,—Please excuse the liberty I take in sending six months' subscription to THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW through you. Why I do so is because the first article I read, written by you, *got* me, and each succeeding one only increases my admiration of you.

You and Mr. G. K. Chesterton are very much alike in the *pull* you have on your readers. In the *Illustrated London News* I always read his article before looking at the pictures—and yours is devoured *first* in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

W. G. DEACON.

ST. VINCENT, MINN.

PRAISE OF "THE MAN JESUS"

SIR,—I wish you would permit me to express my gratitude to you for publishing the articles, *The Man Jesus*, by Mary Austin. They are replete with sympathy, deep appreciation, and, particularly, reverence. These qualities are very much deeper than dogmatic worship, which is so far away from the needs of the human heart.

DEMARCHUS C. BROWN.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

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THE MAN JESUS

BY MARY AUSTIN

CHAPTER XI

SUPPOSE, now, this happened yesterday—that a man speaking as never man spoke before perished in our midst at the instigation of a few whose prejudices he crossed and whose profits he interrupted. And suddenly, to-day, all our social organization goes limping and awry for want of what he offered us. Should we have any difficulty then in seeing his work as Peter and James and John, as Andrew and Philip and Thomas, as Matthew and the rest of them, before they came under the influence of Paul, saw the work of Jesus, as incomplete, unperfected? Certainly not if we understood him as well as, with the help of all the centuries, we are able to understand the Man from Nazareth.

He came declaring the imminence of a state of society on which the will of God could be worked out freely, as it could not in the state to which he came, and he went still declaring it unestablished and confident that he should come again and heal the aching time. Some color his words must have lent to the belief that he should come with apocalyptic terrors and suddenness, for in the beginning there is no doubt that he thought of the world as being healed as he healed lepers, at a stroke. Later, he spoke of the growth of the new order as mysterious as the growth of a seed in the ground, and as natural. But however he spoke of it, the conviction was never far from his mind that love could not rule in Israel nor heaven be wholly come until great changes should be effected in the social organization. Of this the disciples were as convinced as we could be, and they lived, not as those to whom the Kingdom had come, but *ad interim,* until the day of its appearing. For all their enlightenment, they took the same attitude toward the second coming that the scribes and Pharisees took toward the first. They looked for it in the heavens, instead of springing lowly from the earth, as Jesus himself had come.

But if Jesus were to come to-morrow—or had already come in Rutgers Square or Hyde Park as simply and in much the same fashion as he came to Capernaum, and the constitution of the new social order were springing as a mustard seed, by what signs should we know it?

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First of all, by its being established on the faith in Something Without Us, God, the Divine Mind, the Eternal Purpose, of the nature of which men are partakers as the son partakes of the father; and on the faith in Life as a progress toward the fulfillment of that purpose, proceeding best when most intelligently in touch with God the Father. This is the root and branch of that mind which was in Jesus, which must be dug deep into the social consciousness, and by no means is to be attained by plucking here and there a preferred saying from a casual bough. "Love your neighbor as yourself," he said; but in no shopkeeping fashion; meaning not "as much as yourself," but *as being yourself,* part of the undivided fabric of humanity. But before he said "Love your neighbor," he said, "Love God with all your soul, and with all your mind, and with all your strength"; submit yourself wholly to the Eternal Purpose, unfolding in the consciousness of men and discernible in the open face of history. Not only through the intelligence, perceiving that by the well-being or ill-being of a particular class all society is affected, but with a live throbbing, in a state of active sentience.

That Jesus thought of this state of social awareness as costing something to maintain, is plain enough, but also he thought of it as important to maintain at any cost. "If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out . . . and if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee." For with Jesus, good and evil were not thought of as being constituted in the general opinion, nor by conformity with the rules of any institution, nor even with a previous revelation, but only as they furthered or hindered that harmonious interrelation of God and Man which is the Kingdom of Heaven. Greeds of money and of the flesh, pride, anger and the natural affections, were to be cut off when and because they were impeding, when and because they stopped the individual from putting his particular case to the question of the whole; not as standing apart, wise and condescending, but as partaking of its wholeness. There is no single rule of living delivered by Jesus which cannot very shortly be shown to take its validity from the extent to which the item of conduct under consideration capacitates or incapacitates man for harmonious social activity. What he taught, what he desired for himself and his disciples, was a state of complete mobilization.

And if you say that this is not to be attained except by the practice of those phases of Christianity which are called mystical, let us understand once for all that Jesus came teaching, more than any other man, that the mystical is the practical. All these high states which had been the exclusive privilege of saints and prophets, he made part of the common use and possession. Mind, Spirit, whatever it is which flows between God and man and between man and his brother, he constituted the daily instrument, accessible alike to learned and unlearned. God is as free as air, and Heaven as close at hand in a fishing boat as in Jerusalem. He did a healing in the

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course of an afternoon call, and forgave sins between the roast and the dessert. He made no more of a mystery of the stupendous forces of spiritual regeneration than of the springing of wheat in the field. He drew—though we have not yet accepted it at his hands—all the manifestations of the supernatural into the field of the natural. "Do me a miracle," said the fat Herod when Jesus had been brought before him bound from Pilate; but Jesus did no miracles, nothing which he did not openly declare, and which we now know, to be commonly possible . . . the fulfillment of law. We are ourselves responsible for the hocus-pocus with which we have smothered those operations of the spirit which Jesus recommended as a means of obtaining the necessary ethical efficiency. We have used his name instead of his power, and prejudiced the whole vocabulary of spiritual vitality without being able to rid ourselves of the least of its realities. We speak of personal prayer in the phrases of auto-suggestion, and the work of healing in the jargon of therapeutics, and pay a handsome sum to confess our sins to a psycho-analyst who will blush to confess them freely to God.

It is for reasons like this that we remain, in an age of great enlightenment, in a state of immobility. The Spirit is still operative in the world, clarifying, revealing. Luthers still arise, and Lincolns. Many sincere souls offer us the true vision. The brotherhood of man is better understood and more widely applied than it was in the time of Jesus, who thought first of Israel and then of the little dogs under the table. Things are known and approved for the betterment of nations so that none dare deny them. But no mobilization of society can be effected toward the establishment of the Kingdom except in some manner by the use of the same means that Jesus practiced. At least nobody has yet done it.

For two thousand years we have launched ourselves on every conceivable experiment for sustaining the atmosphere of the Kingdom of God without its reality, only to find that none of them will work. We are at the end of all our shifts for creating heaven on earth by sleight of spirit. Puritanism and mysticism alike are but so many turns of the screw in directions which accomplish nothing toward the ultimate achievement. Communism will not do it, nor voluntary poverty, and charity has come to be looked upon as a positive deterrent. We have prophesied in his name, and in his name cast out devils of graft and corruption, and they have returned bringing seven others. We say, Lo here! and Lo there! and we have not yet learned that the Kingdom of Heaven is in the midst of us.

The Kingdom of Heaven is up to us. It consists very simply in casting ourselves, hand linked in hand, on the bosom of the Eternal Purpose, and not with psalm-saying and long countenance, but in a spirit of high adventure.

This is the meaning of all the work that Jesus did to free his

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people of the need to do things because they had been a long time doing them. They did not always accept such freedom, but remained as an ox standing in the stall after the halter which bound him is loosed; but there is no doubt that he meant to show them that the only legitimate excuse for doing anything is that the Eternal Purpose is served by it. In such service lies freedom from tradition. Likewise in the operation of the spirit is release from the fret of illness, from the sense of lack and unfriendedness. Here and now, and not in some distant fruit of indirect political action, are the eternal verities. *If they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert; go not forth: behold, he is in the secret chambers; believe it not . . . "for where two or three are gathered together . . . there am I."*

The predicament of society has been to express in terms of the more than two or three the clear call of Jesus to essential use, as against the arbitrary laws of social exigency. For men in nations must live in some degree by forms, and the followers of Jesus have not been able to deduce from his personal teaching the precise frame of economic or political organization comformable with the Kingdom. There wants still a prophet to cut through all the dead and dying traditions of social living as Jesus pruned the levitical formality of Hebraism. Lacking such a one, we do what we can with the pattern in hand.

It must appear very early that to the people sincerely bent on producing a society in which the will of God is manifest, the particular political form is of the least importance. There could not be very material differences between the procedures of a Christian king and a Christian president; but, monarchy or republic, the indispensable mark of Christian vitality is that the state should be fluent, able to move readily like a growing thing in the direction from whence the light cometh. Stated in terms of the social mass, the promise of Jesus that with God all things are possible, means no more or less than that, so moving in harmony with the Eternal Purpose, we arrive at undreamed-of possibilities. No political propaganda, then, which accepts a limitation for the race, or looks forward to any shape of social fixity, can nominate itself Christian. The Purpose, turning like a millwheel in the stream, works up every wave of it, flashing the last least drop in the sun.

The maintenance of such a mobile state is by no means so difficult as it appears, provided that the place of individuals in the state be established on grounds clearly defined by Jesus whenever in his ministry the subject came to his attention. It did so come on more than one occasion, and seems to have lain close to the minds of his disciples all the way from Cesarea-Philippi to Jerusalem. Who should be first in the Kingdom, who sit in the chief seats? This was the question, and the answer was always the same and unequivocal: "Whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant."

Now, after tradition, the thing which most tends to fixity of politi-

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cal forms is privilege—privilege of lands and waters, privilege of first fruits and spoils of war, privilege of place and profit. For these men fight and intrigue, making kings and unmaking them. But service goes by capacity; it may neither be schemed for nor inherited. It arises in unexpected places—a carpenter's shop, a rail-splitter's cabin, and no man may so much as pass it on even to his son. Although service itself be reckoned a supreme privilege and guarded jealously, it at least cannot be farmed. "As the summer lightning cometh out of the east and shineth unto the west," so are the gifts by which society is served. In a State, then, whose chief citizens are accounted those who serve most, there can not be even a serving class, and fluency is maintained not by a series of head-on collisions with established privilege, but by pushing it aside as the tip of the growing plant pushes the sod.

From his handling of his disciples, from many parables, it is evident that Jesus never contemplated a society of mechanical equalities. But so far as he thought of rank and order he thought of them as arising from the natural endowment of men, and of men estimated in heaven as they served heaven and not themselves. But even as he made service the criterion of worth in the Kingdom of God, so he would certainly have decided against any economic device which would have straitened the individual capacity for serving. No procedure, whether it be an ill-nourished childhood or an insufficient wage, which leaves men lessened of their normal worth can be thought of as consistent with a Christian state. Loving God with all your soul and all your mind and all your strength was the Nazarene's way of putting our modern plea for efficiency in social service.

At first glance it would seem that he thought not at all of goods and their distribution, and, if he thought of them, left no witness. We have seen how the simple communism of the first church at Jerusalem grew rather out of the teaching of John the Baptist than of Jesus, and was not enjoined by them on other churches. It was like the common purse of the twelve on their pilgrimages, the outgrowth of a temporary common objective. On the night of the Passover, knowing their interests about to be scattered, Jesus bade each man take his own, and afterward we find them working their own boats in Gennesaret. Groping deeper, however, into the groundwork of his doctrine, we may without too much hesitancy strike out the main lines of a world organization harmonious with whatever else he taught in other departments of living.

There is no doubt that his sense of the brotherhood of man and sonship to the Father went somewhat deeper than our biological appreciation of kinship in the human family. He thought of us as "abiding" in it, inalienable, no more able to fall out of it than we can fall off the earth. Sin and sickness were schemes which temporarily discomforted us, but could in no wise nullify the obligation. Judas he received even after he had sold his master. All his han-

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dlings of the sick and the sinning were alike in as much as they made for wholeness, unifying and re-establishing the relation. In a Christian state there could be no such outcastings as we make of the criminal and the nonconformist. Thinking always of men as children of our Father, it is probable that he would have thought of our relation to the earth as being something more intimate than mere possessiveness. Certainly he would have conceived that *the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof* in a sense more imperative than our poetic appreciation makes it so. All early Hebrew law exhibited this profounder relation, and attempted to express it in ordinances many of which were still in force in his time. The Pharisaical fussiness which made it a Sabbath-breaking for Jesus and the twelve to thresh out the ripe grain between thumb and palm did not so much as question their right to eat of the fruit of the field and the orchard through which led their path. The certainty lying deep in Israel that somehow the last ears must not be gleaned, the last cluster gathered, nor the ox muzzled in treading out the corn—was it not somehow the far-derived root from which sprung this new revelation of the Fatherliness of God? One law they had which expresses their sense of the processes of organized society as a progress away from the indispensable relation. It was the law of the Sabbath of the land. Six years did they plow the field and prune the vineyard and gather the fruit thereof, but the seventh was a year of rest for the land. And after seven sevens of Sabbaths, in the day of atonement a trumpet sounded to hallow the fiftieth year and to *proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof.* And in this fiftieth year of jubilee they returned every man to his possession; and only according to the number of years from the jubilee could the land be bought or sold . . . for "*The land shall not be sold for ever: for the land is mine.* . . ." And everyone who in that year had come into bondage because of poverty, should depart from his bondage and return unto his own. So, through a multiplicity of carefully devised provisions, Israel attempted from time to time to restore man and the land to their normal relation.

This was a part of that law which Jesus said he had come to fulfill; not merely to obey nor yet meticulously observe, but to exemplify in its profoundest implications. It is impossible not to think that, had the Man from Nazareth turned his attention directly to the re-establishment of a mode of social living, his first effort would have been to demonstrate the brotherhood of man in terms of his inheritance. It would have been consistent at every point for him to have denied permanent and exclusive possession of the property of the Father. He would have justified it as did Israel out of experience, and the faith that nothing which is in harmony with the natural constitution of society can work in any way other than to its betterment.

If this is not so much of a practical direction as some of us would

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wish, it is at least more than has been yet accomplished. If it does not immediately produce the Kingdom, it bears out the good half of the announcement that it is "at hand"—that it lies, in its simplicity and in the immediacy of the instrument, "in the midst of us." It establishes the social revolution not as a thing to be accomplished, but as a thing experienced.

The teaching of Jesus which is most in men's mouths to-day is the brotherhood of man; but the conception most necessary to any realization of it in terms of human organization is recalled to us by the vision which burst upon him at the ford of Jordan, with the effect of the heavens being opened. . . . *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased* . . . the sense of ourselves harmoniously related to the Purpose and important to it—used by it. In our day we have stretched out our hand to man, our brother: but to man as a spiritual orphan, unfathered. And we know of nothing more to do with the other hand than to wave a red flag with it, or use it to go through his pockets, according to our several dispositions. It is only when we have clasped God on the other side that the current of eternal possibility circulates through us. It was in such a faith that the whole power and personality of Jesus was suspended, as the stars are hung in the windless spaces. Such a revelation flashed upon Peter and James and John in the hour when the Messiahship of Jesus burned for them between the two candles of the law and the prophets. It is the tree from which brotherhood proceeds by a thousand fruiting branches.

For none of these things is so because Jesus taught them. Rather, the whole hope of ethical reorganization depends on our being able to be sure that he taught such things because, more than any man else, he perceived them to be true. To realize them in terms of human conduct it is not so important to establish the exact degree of the sonship of Jesus as to be able to know that relation for ourselves as the most poignant of human realities—whether indeed we are the stream proceeding from the source of Life, or midges dancing upon it. Twenty centuries have not produced the Kingdom out of an evangelical system of believing what somebody wrote down concerning what somebody reported that Jesus said. Comes now the untried experiment of establishing it in the things that Jesus believed.

He believed in man and in God the Father, friend of the soul of man. He believed in the future, but he believed also in the Here and Now. He believed that the ills of this world are curable while we are in the world by no other means than the spirit of Truth and Brotherliness working its lawful occasions among men.

This was that man approved of God whom Peter preached, standing in Solomon's porch opposite the Gate Beautiful, before Paul came interpreting the new experiences which Christianity brought in terms of an inherited conception. Thus they spoke of him while they

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still thought of his death as originating in the cruelty and wickedness of the levitical party, before any one seems to have imagined that he died for our sins, or that in dying he contributed any more to the Kingdom than his life showed forth; before he began to be spoken of as God and Saviour; before the poor and simple learned to think of him in terms of the poor and simple, True Vine, Bread of Life, Good Shepherd. They thought of him as a man appointed for a certain task, sent by God, a Jew, not establishing a new religion, but clarifying and renewing the faith of their fathers, adding to their objective idea of sin as a violation of law, his subjective concept of it as a breach of at-one-ness with the Father. To Peter and the rest of them Christianity was a healing of this breach through faith in Jesus as the dead and alive again. This for them was the Kingdom, not the overthrow of one form by another but the flux of all forms: empires, pomps, societies; the redemption of life from the bondage of Things.

All this began to be changed very soon, almost in the lifetime of the apostles; but before the simple, earlier belief had become entangled in the ebullient new life of the church, it had been gathered up and kept for us as sacred relics are kept in silver altars. It had been embodied in a myth of such naïve and tender beauty that still, after twenty centuries, one touches it reverently, knowing that the world has not produced its like.

It is not always possible to trust the objective reports of men as unlettered and untrained of mind as were those who stood nearest to Jesus. Their wits move too close to the earth, sentiment and observation meet the intelligence with one indistinguishable impact. They report what they sense, rather than what they see and know, and its meaning is often limited by the limitation of their outlook. But in matters which come so close to the people as did the experiences of early Christianity, you can always trust their myth-making. For a myth is a report of the soul's essential traffic with the invisible forces, prefigured in human incident. Before all the actors in it had been gathered with those who slept, there began to be circulated a myth about the coming of Jesus which, as insects are held in amber, holds every vital element of the faith entertained by those most nearly touched by it. And just as the story which Jesus himself told of his struggle on the mountain was a long time arriving at a material interpretation, so the story which arose concerning the birth of Jesus was two or three centuries in passing from its purely spiritual significance to historical acceptance. By such acceptance it was preserved to us intact, to reveal to our time the profound and simple concept of the place of Jesus in human consideration.

It begins with an attempt to derive the descent of Jesus from all history, on the one hand, and on the other to present his sonship with God in terms with which the time was familiar. They were world-terms in the sense that no tribe at any time has found, for the glad

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surrender of the race to divine use, a more expressive figure than the yielding of women to their supremest service. To be filled with the Spirit as the mother is filled with the hope of new being, this it is to be fruitful toward God, to produce the ultimate Brotherhood. In some such way all simple people have expressed it. The story told by Matthew and Luke goes further and exhibits the studious search of the scientific for the Truth, and their amazement to find it (is not this where all the wisdom of the schools has landed us?) with the ass and the lowing kine, a child in a manger. So far the story might have come out of any nation, but only one could have added the prophetic touch of truth, hid from the wise and revealed to near-by shepherds; or have seen, in the figure of Herod, all Privilege striking blind and large at the new birth which threatens it, slaying the innocent as in how many rages of Privilege it is slaughtered, while yet the eternal Hope escapes, fleeing into Egypt, nursed and husbanded by the people.

By such means, even while the descendents of Mary lived and the grandnephews of Jesus worked their Galilean farm, was the intimate teaching of Jesus kept in remembrance. Thus in the wrappings of twenty centuries is preserved to us the seed of the Kingdom that is not to be circumscribed by legislation, but must be entered into by personal determination. To some such knowledge of it we must return if we would see it advanced in our generation. For Christianity is not a system of theology, but a way of life in which the validity of your relation to God is witnessed in your relation to your neighbor.

THE END.

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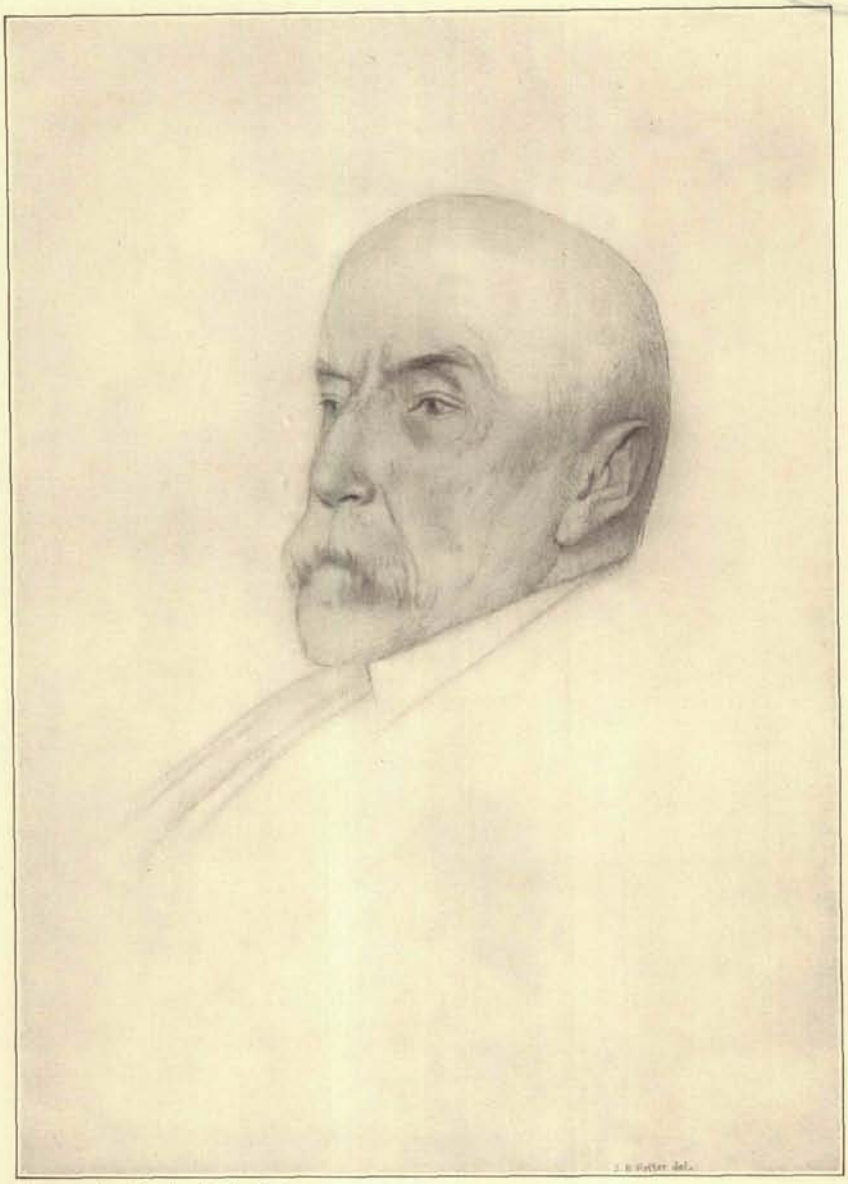

From a drawing by J. B. Potter

HENRY ADAMS

EDITOR OF THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

1873–1876

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GEORGE HARVEY
EDITOR OF THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW SINCE 1899

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COLONEL HARVEY, WHOSE ABSENCE IN EUROPE PREVENTS HIS CONTRIBUTING TO THIS NUMBER, WILL RESUME HIS EDITORIALS IN THE JANUARY ISSUE, EMBODYING THEREIN HIS OBSERVATIONS ON CONDITIONS AS HE FINDS THEM ABROAD.

THE DECEMBER NUMBER OF THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW MARKS THE ENDING OF ITS CELEBRATION OF A CENTURY OF EXISTENCE. DURING THE YEAR PORTRAITS OF FORMER DISTINGUISHED EDITORS HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED. THE ASSOCIATES OF THE PRESENT EDITOR TAKE ADVANTAGE OF HIS ABSENCE TO PRESENT HIS LIKENESS IN THIS ISSUE, IN RECOGNITION OF THE FACT THAT THE PERIOD OF HIS SERVICE HAS FAR EXCEEDED THAT OF ANY OF HIS PREDECESSORS, AND IN THE HOPE, ON THE PART OF THEMSELVES, THAT IT MAY LONG BE CONTINUED.

J. HENRY HARPER,
VICE-PRESIDENT.

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